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MELANESIANS

AND

POLYNESIANS

THEIR LIFE-HISTORIES
DESCRIBED AND COMPARED

BY

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'GEORGE BROWN, PIONEER MISSIONARY AND EXPLORER: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY'

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

My acquaintance with the natives of the East and West Pacific extends over a term of forty-eight years. During that time I resided in Samoa for fourteen years continuously, from 1860 to 1874, and I have often visited the group in later years. In 1875 I landed in New Britain, now named the Bismarck Archipel. At that time there was no white man living in the group, and practically nothing was known of those islands or of the people living there. I resided there until the end of 1880, with the exception of the time occupied by two visits to Australia, and I have revisited that group on several occasions since that time.

My acquaintance with the great Solomon Islands group began in the year 1879, and since then I have visited the group on several occasions. During these many voyages I have visited Tonga, Fiji, New Hebrides, Santa Cruz, New Ireland, New Hanover, New Guinea, the large atolls of the Ontong Java and the Tasman groups, and many others of the smaller islands in the Pacific.

I was able to speak the Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, and New Britain languages, and found this knowledge very useful in my intercourse with the different races. The information given in the following pages is that which was acquired from the natives only, except where otherwise stated.

Whilst I was stationed in New Britain I secured from time to time the services of intelligent natives, and considered with them many of the questions which are given in the work, *Anthropological Notes and Queries*, issued by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and wrote down at the time the answers which were given me. The information given of Samoan customs was acquired during my residence there, and subsequently confirmed and added to by my friend, the late Rev. George Pratt. I always distrust the evidence of memory alone, especially after any lengthened absence from the islands.

In this work it must be understood that I am not writing a general account of either Melanesians or Polynesians, but only of those with whom I have had close acquaintance. In describing Melanesians, except when otherwise stated in the text, my description will be that of the manners and customs of the people of New Britain (Bismarck Archipel), and more particularly of the Duke of York group. In describing Polynesians my remarks will apply to the Samoans, except when otherwise stated.

I have no pet theories of my own, and whilst I may express my own opinions from time to time, I shall certainly not attempt to force or distort facts with the idea of supporting them. There is no man more dangerous in the consideration of scientific subjects than the man with a fad, except perhaps the man who, when facts fail him, or when they are not sufficiently sensational, can always find in his own imagination an unlimited supply for public consumption. We have had specimens of both of these in the South Seas, and I certainly do not intend to add to the number. I have only written this work because I have been urged to do so by so many friends in England and Australia whose opinions I value, and because I have been called hard names by them for not placing on record some of the knowledge of the manners, customs, and folklore of the peoples amongst whom I have lived for so many years.

GEO. BROWN.

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CHAPTER I

THE ISLANDS IN WHICH THE PEOPLE LIVE

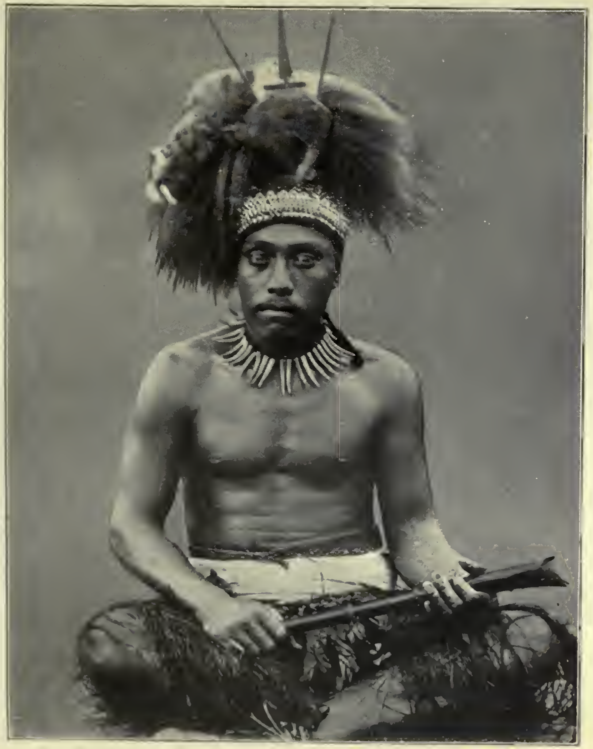
BEFORE placing on record some facts connected with the life-histories of the Melanesian and Polynesian peoples, amongst whom I have lived for many years, I think it well to give a very brief description of the groups in which the people live.

SAMOA,

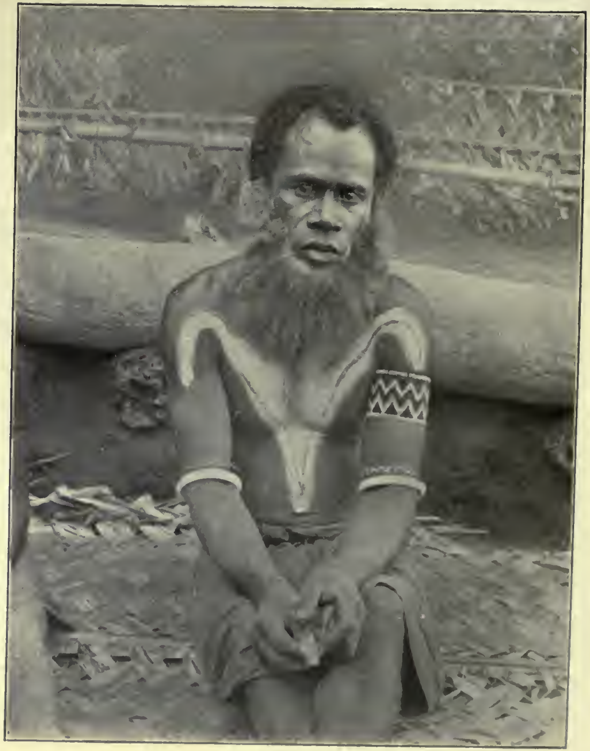
in which I resided for nearly fifteen years, is one of the eastern groups in the South Pacific. It lies between the parallels of 13° 30′ and 14° 30′ S. lat., and consists of the Manua group, Tutuila, Upolu, Manono, Apolima, and Savaii.

The group is principally of volcanic formation, the most recent crater, up to the time of this present eruption, being one called Tutumau, a few miles inland of Safune, on the N.W. side of the large island of Savaii. I visited this in 1862. No white man had ever ascended it before. It was at that time a high mountain of volcanic ashes, with a very deep, well-defined crater. The sides of the crater were almost perpendicular, and there was little or no vegetation on the mountain, and we saw no signs of heat or steam.

The islands are all mountainous, intersected with deep valleys showing marks of denudation from heavy rainfalls and the action of mountain torrents. This is more especially noticeable in the island of Upolu. The coast-line is principally composed of volcanic cliffs, "steep to," and with very few places on which landing may be safely effected from boats. The principal exceptions to this are on Upolu, from a point a few miles to the eastward of Apia, on the N. coast to Falelatai, on the S.W. coast, a distance of about 50 miles, and from Salelologa, on the N.E. coast of Savaii, to Amoa, on the N.W. coast. Then there is a stretch of volcanic cliffs for about 20 miles to Lealatele, where the fringing reef again begins, and continues to Sasina, on the same coast, for about 12 miles. These fringe or shore reefs vary from a few yards to 1½ mile in distance from the shore. The country inland from these reef-protected areas is much more level and less broken than it is inland of the iron-bound coast. In an address which I gave at the meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science at Hobart, as president of the Geographical Section, I said in reference to this group: "I think it not at all unlikely that the islands were at one time surrounded by reefs, which have been in many places filled up by lava, and that those places where the fringing reefs still remain were out of the line of the lava streams, and so escaped. This is in some measure confirmed by the native traditions. For example, at Tufu, on the south coast of Savaii, there is a proverb in almost daily use to express astonishment at any sudden or unexpected change: 'Maupenei went away and left a *taitafola* (lagoon), and



A Samoan Chief in Fighting Costume.



A Native of New Britain.

came back and found a *tai pupu* (iron-bound) coast in its place.' This evidently refers to an actual occurrence, as inland of the volcanic cliffs which now form the coast is a watercourse, and some flat swampy ground, from which large quantities of brain coral (*puga*) are dug up and used by the natives for making lime. This is interesting as a typical instance of the way in which the physical features of the surface have been altered by volcanic action." At the time I made this statement there seemed no probability of any further manifestation of volcanic action, as no hot springs or fumaroles existed in the group, and the old crater which I have mentioned was filled with forest trees, some of them of immense size. Towards the end of the year 1905, however, a volcano burst out at the bottom of a deep valley some 5 or 6 miles from Saleaula, where I had resided for some years. This volcano has now attained a height of about 4000 feet, and has covered many miles of country with a deposit of lava about 10 or 12 feet deep. The streams from this immense volcano, which at the time I write is still in full action, have quite verified the opinion which I expressed in the address I have just mentioned. The lagoon which in my time stretched in front of the districts of Lealatele and Saleaula has been completely filled up by the lava, and a high iron-bound coast has been formed there precisely similar to those which I have described as existing previously. The interior of the large island of Savaii is very rough, and is composed principally of scoria. There is a lake in the centre called Matau Lano, which I visited, and a similar one is found also in Upolu. The soil, composed principally of decayed vegetable matter, is very fertile, and in most places the scoria is covered with tropical vegetation.

TONGA

Tonga is a fine group between the parallels of 15° and 23° 30′ S. lat. and the meridians of 173° and 171° W. long. It consists of three separate groups, Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, with the outlying islands of Niua Foou and Niua Tobutabu. This group was first discovered by Tasman in 1643. The large island of Tongatabu is a low island of coral formation, as is also the whole of the Haabai group. The island of Eua is about 1200 feet in height, and is also of coral formation. This island affords one of the most conclusive proofs of upheaval, as it is stated on the authority of the officers of H.M.S. *Egeria* (who were employed in the survey of the group) that an extensive dyke of basalt is found inland underlying the coral formation.

The northern group of Vavau is also principally coral, but there are several outlying islands on which are active volcanoes, and Tofua, Laté, Fonualei, and Niua Foou have all been in eruption in recent years. In 1846 Fonualei was laid waste by a terrific eruption, during which immense showers of ashes and pumice were ejected. Captain Samson, in command of an American whaler, sailed through a cloud of ashes, rolling over like great volumes of smoke, for about 40 miles; and Captain Cash, of the ship *Massachusetts*, had the same experience 60 miles to the eastward of Captain Samson's position. On 24th June 1853 a dreadful eruption took place in Niua Foou Island, when the earth was rent open in the very centre of a native village, and twenty-five people were consumed in the burning gulf, with all their houses and church. Ten miles of country were covered by the streams of lava to a depth of from 8 to 15 feet, the main stream being 3 miles in width. Another eruption took place in 1867, and a third in 1886. The first two were characterised by an outflow of lava, but in the last one there were only ashes and fire. I visited the island in 1889. There is a lake, evidently an old crater, on the top, about 3 miles long by 1½ broad, in a deep depression in the centre of the island. The land surrounding it is "steep to" in most places, with bold headlands extending some distance into the lake, with well-wooded sides in many parts. On the south and east sides the shores are not so steep as on the north. There are three small islands in the lake, on one of which fresh water is obtainable. At the place where we first saw the lake, near Mataaho, we were in full view of the large piece of land which was thrown up during the last eruption in the centre of the lake. This is of irregular shape, about 70 feet high, and from 2 to 3 miles in circumference. Passing along the ridge, which gradually became steeper as we approached Agaha, we could see very distinctly the two craters from which the large black hills of sand and ashes were ejected, which now occupy the place where but a few years ago there was deep blue water. The lake is very deep in many places. The craters are only a few feet above the level of the water. The next day I visited three old craters near the sea. One of them is quite close to the ocean; in fact, it seems to have broken out on the beach or in the sea. The other two farther inland are well-defined craters, but broken away on the seaward side, and had some fairsized casuarina trees growing on them. The volcanic ash is soon affected by the weather and disintegrated, and in a short time ferns and casuarina trees grow, and cover the black and desolate scene with a garment of verdure and beauty. Laté was also in violent eruption in 1854, and is still active. Submarine volcanoes have in recent years produced several new islands. On Thursday 6th August 1857 the captain of the *John Wesley* reported an island which had appeared above the surface of the sea a few months previously. This was about 60 feet high, and emitted fire, smoke, and steam. On 19th August of the same year he also reported another islet, in the same locality, which had also been recently upheaved. On 27th August he came upon what appeared to be a shoal water, 5 miles S.S.W. from the island which he discovered on 6th August. A boat was lowered to sound, but no bottom was found with 40 fathoms. The discoloured water, he stated, was evidently caused by the stream of lava which had flowed in that direction, as the discoloured water was continued from that point to the base of the new island. Both these islands have much increased in size since they originally appeared. A few years ago an island was thrown up near Tongatabu. This was partly washed away, but has again materially increased in size. These are instances which show the changes which take place in these seas in the earth's surface by volcanic action.

Fiji

Fiji has been so often described that I shall only give a very brief description here. The group consists of about 200 islands and islets, about 80 of which are inhabited. These lie between the parallels of 15° 30′ S. lat. and the meridians of 177° E. long. and 178° W. long.

They were discovered by Tasman in 1643. Captain Cook only sighted one of the islands, Vatoa or Turtle Island. Captain Bligh twice passed through parts of the group, and Captain Wilson, of the Mission vessel *Duff*, was nearly wrecked on a reef near Taveuni.

The islands are principally of volcanic origin, and many of them appear to be the tops of submarine mountain ranges; but at the present time there are no active volcanoes in the group. The mountain ranges, however, especially on Kandavu and Taveuni, show that in the distant past there were large and formidable craters on them in full action. Boiling springs are found in several parts, and earthquakes are occasionally felt. The soil is gravelly, and barren in some places, but generally consists of dark red or yellowish clay, which, when well watered, is very fertile.

The New Hebrides

This group lies between the parallels of 14° 30′ and 20° 16′ S. lat., and between the meridians 165° 40′ and 170° 30′ E. long. The general trend is from S.S.E. to N.N.W. The large island of Espiritu Santo was discovered by De Quiros in 1606. Others were visited by Bougainville in 1768, but the principal exploration and discoveries were made by Captain Cook in 1774, and by him the name of New Hebrides was given to the group. La Pérouse passed through a part of it in 1788, and perished at Vanikoro, an island a little farther north. The group is about 400 miles in length; the principal islands, beginning from the south, are Aneiteum, Tanna, Eromanga, Sandwich, Mallicolo, Aoba, Aurora, St. Bartholomew, Espiritu Santo, and other small islands. The group contains at least three active volcanoes—Tanna in the south, and Lopevi and Ambrym in the north. That on Tanna is the largest. The group is distinctly volcanic, and there are many plain proofs of several upheavals, and, in some instances, the volcanic rocks are found cropping out of the upheaved coral.

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

This fine group of islands lies between 5° and 10° 53′ S. lat. and 154° 30′ and 162° 28′ E. long. It consists of a double row of islands, of which Santa Catalina is the most southerly and Bouka the one farthest north. The principal islands are Santa Catalina, Santa Anna, San Christoval, Guadalcanar, Mala, Florida, Ysabel, New Georgia, Choiseul, and Shortlands, which are now all under British protectorate; and Bougainville and Bouka, which are under German protectorate. The length of the group is nearly 700 miles. Most of the islands are mountainous, and all are densely wooded. There is an active volcano on the island of Bougainville, and one on Savo has been in eruption within the memory of living men. Nearly all the islands in this group also show distinct evidence of upheaval. On Treasury Island, Dr. Guppy believes that there are clear proofs of a recent upheaval of at least 1500 feet, whilst in many of the islands the volcanic rocks are geologically ancient, and afford indications of the insular condition having been preserved from remote ages. An extract from a paper contributed by me some years ago will give some idea of this fine group. "The appearance of the group on the charts gives little idea of the large number of islands and islets of which it is composed. A traveller coasting along the shores of San Christoval, then entering Marau Sound on Guadalcanar, then coasting up the north side of that splendid island (leaving the large island of Mala and the Florida group to the right), passing through the Russell, New Georgia, Vella Lavella, Treasury, Shortlands, and other groups, would pass by a large number of beautiful islands of ever-varying shape and size, and yet he would then have seen only a part of the great Solomon group. The extent and beauty of the islands in the Russell, Maravo, and Ruviana lagoons can only be appreciated by those who in some small steamer or sailing vessel have traversed the deep, still, land-locked waterways which separate these lovely islands. There are few places which present to the eye so many attractions to the explorer or to the yachtsman as this little-known but most beautiful group."

The eastern end of Guadalcanar has several small islands on it which are evidently situated on a line of previous reef or on small isolated reefs. The main islands consist of large central mountain ranges, the space between these and the sea-shore being occupied by broken hills with deep valleys between, showing evident marks of the action of water. The whole are densely wooded. Along the south coast islands are some outlying islands at no great distance from the shore, but closer inshore there are long lines of small islands separated only a very short distance from the beach. These present the appearance of having been upheaved along the line of fringing reef, as the channel between them and the mainland is often of a considerable depth.

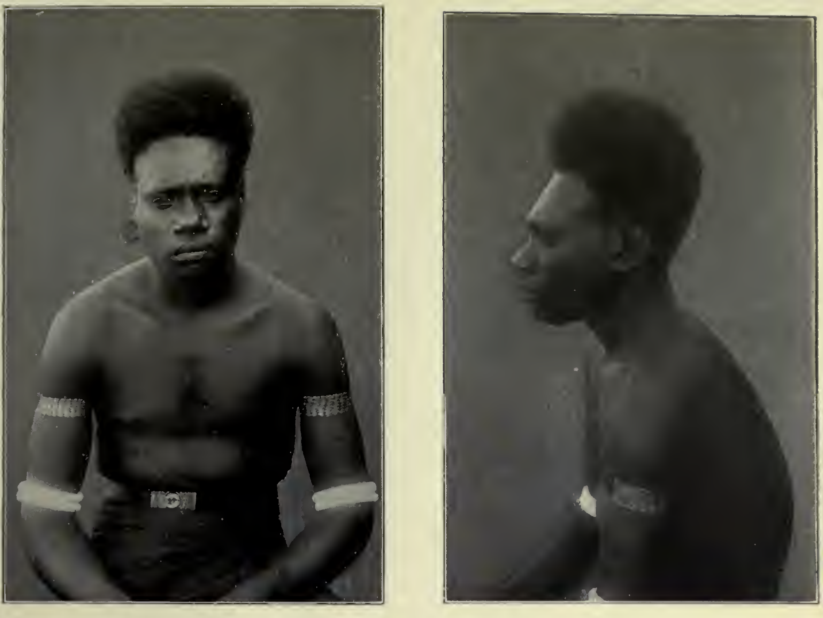
Towards the western island of Guadalcanar the central range decreases in height, and the foot-hills are less rugged. There is a large tract of flat country between the coast and the foot-hills of the central range which has probably been caused by the prevailing winds blocking up the courses of the rivers and streams, and so forming in time the area of flat land now visible near the coast. The hills to the west of the island are also marked by large patches of open country.

THE NEW BRITAIN GROUP,

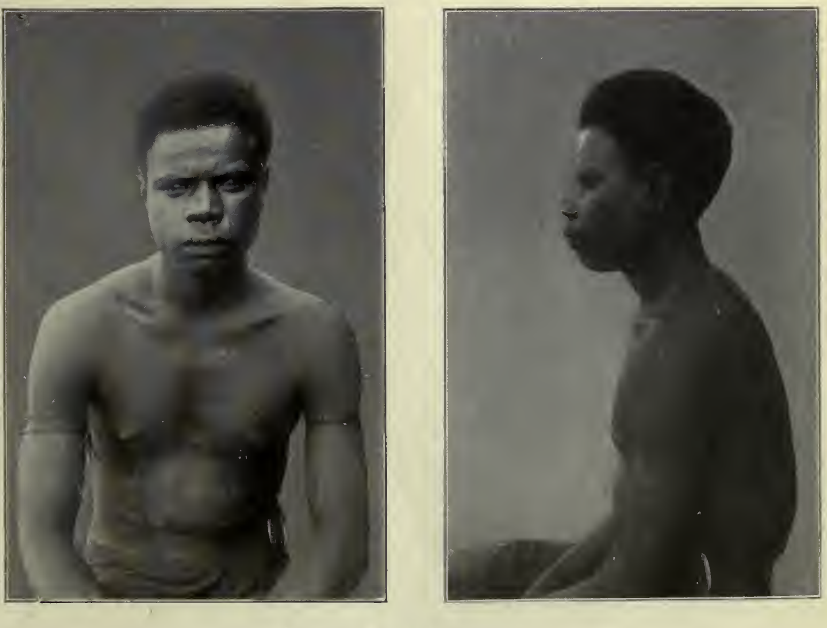
which is now generally known as the Bismarck Archipel, comprises the large islands of New Britain, New Ireland, Duke of York group, and New Hanover, together with a number of smaller islands.

They are of volcanic origin, and there are several active volcanoes on New Britain, the principal of which are the Mother and Daughters, in and near Blanche Bay, and the Father and Sons, near the Dupourtail group, in which also there is a volcano. New Ireland appears to be outside the line of activity, and the central part of the island is composed of sedimentary rocks, in which the only specimens of true chalk which have been obtained south of the equator are found. This is manufactured by the natives into images, which at one time were held in great reverence by the natives.

I have given in a previous work, from personal experience and observation, some facts showing how some of these islands are formed, and also showing how rapid is the disintegration of pumice and the



Native of South End of New Britain.
The sides of the head are flattened by pressure when young.



Native of New Ireland.

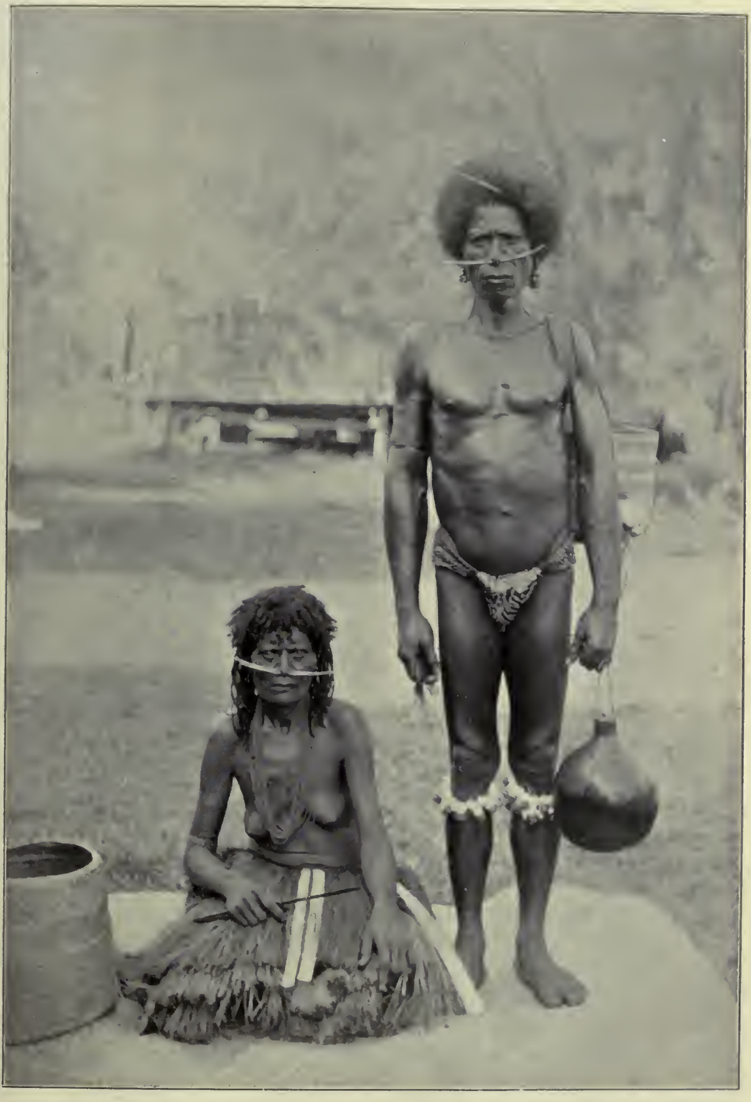
growth of the vegetation on a recently upheaved island. I need, therefore, only repeat here the bare facts without the details. In February 1878 there was a very violent eruption from one of the three volcanic mountains, Mother and Daughters, situate in Blanche Bay, on the Gazelle Peninsula, in New Britain. This was accompanied by some severe earthquakes and tidal waves. During that eruption an island was upheaved in the bay on which I landed when it was still too hot for any one to walk on without boots. The land sloped gradually from the north-west beach to the summit of the island, when it terminated almost perpendicularly in a large cup-like cavity, the side of which was about 60 feet in height at the summit of the island, gradually sloping down in a circular direction toward the S.E. and N.W., a passage of about 10 yards only remaining through which the boiling waters of the crater flowed out into the bay. It will give some idea of the heat evolved by this volcano when I state that, for some time after it broke out, the water of the bay was all at scalding heat for at least 4 miles' distance from it. Blanche Bay is about 8 miles in length from Praed Point to the head of Simpson's Harbour, and in the survey made by H.M.S. *Blanche* no bottom was found at 17 fathoms up the centre of it for nearly the entire length, and yet at Malakuna, at the head of Simpson's Harbour, Mr. Hicks assured us that the water was all at scalding heat for several days, and this was confirmed by our own experience. The fish were all killed, and the turtles were so much cooked that when the natives got them most of the shell (tortoise shell) had dropped off.

Nearly twenty years after this event it was my good fortune to revisit this place, in August 1897. I found that the island was much reduced in size and height, and was then only about 2 miles in circumference, and about 30 or 40 feet high. The crater, which continued to emit boiling water for at least two years after the eruption, and the lagoon still existed; the pumice had consolidated, part of the shore-line had been washed away, and some of the material had been deposited in what was formerly a channel between the new island and a small rocky islet, but which channel is now quite filled up. The whole island was covered with vegetation, and there were casuarina trees on it at least 30 feet in height. This fact will show how rapidly the pumice is disintegrated by the power of wind, rain, and sun, and how quickly the vegetation grows in a land of great moisture and great heat. I have often sailed my boat over the very place where this island now stands, and this, I think, is a unique experience. There is, I believe, no white man living now but myself who saw that fearful eruption in 1878, to which this island owes its birth.

British New Guinea,

which is now under the control of the Commonwealth of Australia, contains, according to the report of the Surveyor-General of Queensland, a total area of about 90,540 square miles. It has an approximate coastline of 1728 statute miles on the mainland, and of 1936 miles on the islands, giving a total coast-line of about 3664 miles.

Its northern boundary lies from 5° S. lat. at the west end to 8° S. lat. on the east end; the southern

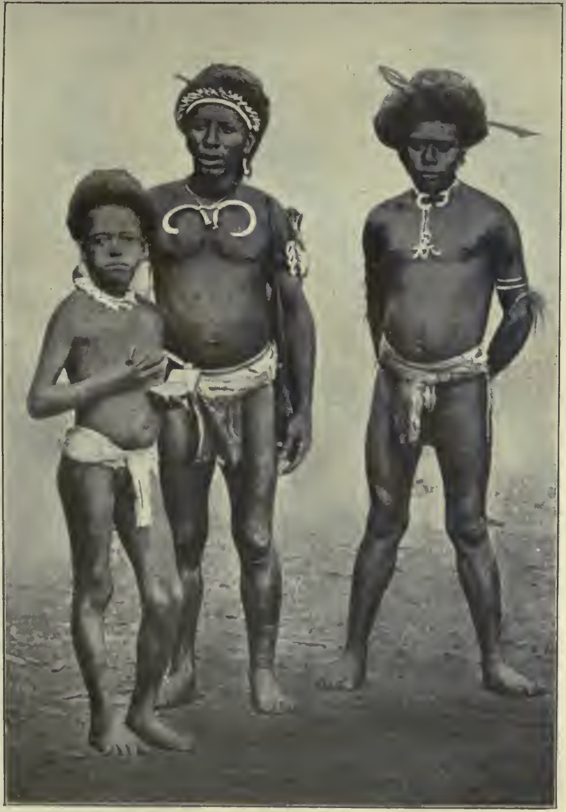


Chief of Dobu, S.E. New Guinea, and his Wife.

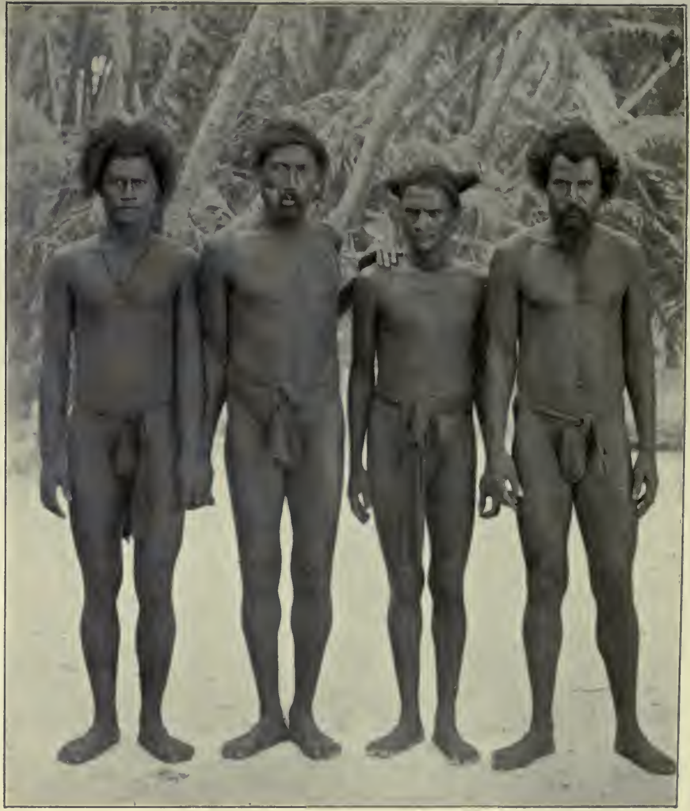
boundary in the west is the sea and the State of Queensland, and in the east end it comes as far south as 12° S. lat. The eastern and western boundaries are respectively the 141° and 155° of E. long. The western boundary meets Dutch New Guinea; the northern boundary meets Kaiser Wilhelmsland.

With regard to the physical features of these groups, it may, I think, be accepted as a fact that most of the islands under consideration are of volcanic origin, and that a large number of them have been formed by upheaval, though it is also certain that some of them have previously been formed during long periods of slow subsidence. Many years ago I wrote in my diary of certain islands in the New Britain group — that it was impossible to account for their present condition by the subsidence theory alone. On several islands I noticed distinct terraces, far above the present sea-level, which still showed deep indentations which had evidently been hollowed by the action of the surf. I noticed also steep points of land, notably one near Point Hunter, which had once evidently been separate islands, but are now united by low lands, and it was not at all difficult to see that this low land had formerly been a channel between the two, and owed its formation in the first instance to tidal waves, or to the backing-up of the tides during the N.W. monsoon; and this was confirmed by native tradition. In Blanche Bay, also, as I have already related, I was myself the spectator of the formation of an island. In New Guinea, too, I have seen islands composed of true coralline limestone, the cliffs of which rise so perpendicularly from the blue ocean that the natives have to ascend and descend by ladders in going from the ocean to the top, or vice versa. A large steamer can go so close to some of these cliffs that she could be moored alongside of them in calm weather. It is not at all improbable, I think, that in these islands we have the two factors in the formation of islands, viz. subsidence, during which these immense cliffs were formed, and subsequent upheaval. This is the only way, I think, in which we can account for these perpendicular cliffs in the midst of deep blue ocean. The only alternative theory is the highly improbable one that the present sea-level is several hundred feet lower now than it was in former years. The formation of the new islands in Tonga is well known as having taken place in recent years, and these have grown in size very considerably since they were first discovered, whilst the dyke of basalt underlying the coralline formation in Eua is also another proof of upheaval. Professor Darwin's statement that volcanoes are often present in the areas which have lately risen, or are still rising, is clearly proved by the present condition of the groups under consideration. I think it very probable, however, that many of the atolls have been formed by subsidence, and the steady growth of coral on the shore or fringing reefs round the now submerged land; but, as far as my experience goes, I am inclined to believe in the old theory that by far the largest proportion of the islands in the Pacific are either the tops of mountain ranges or have been uplifted by volcanic agency.

I do not purpose discussing at any very great length the vexed question of the original home of the races who inhabit the large groups of islands



Natives of Frederick-Wilhelms-Hafen,
German New Guinea.



Natives of Lua Niua (Ontong Java).

in the Pacific. I have read very carefully at different periods the controversy which has been waged on this difficult question. I contributed a paper on "Papuans and Polynesians" which was printed in the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute in February 1887. In this paper I expressed the opinion that both the Melanesian and Polynesian peoples were descended from one common stock of which the Melanesian is the oldest representative at the present time. After still further acquaintance with the respective peoples, I have seen no reason to alter the conclusions which I arrived at in previous years, with the exception of the statement that "in Malaysia the pre-Malayan race was modified by admixture with the Turanian races of the mainland of Asia, and this constituted the present Polynesian race, which still retains so much of this old Papuan element." I now believe, principally from evidence in the language of the respective peoples, that this pre-Malayan race was itself one of the Turanian races of the mainland of Asia; that they were a Negrito people who occupied all the different groups as far west as Borneo, and probably extending upon the mainland on the side of Siam, the Malacca Peninsula, and perhaps as far as Burmah. This large district, I think, may probably at that time have formed part of one great continent. If this opinion be correct, then it follows that the Melanesian and Polynesian languages do not belong to the Indo-European, but to the Turanian family, though the language has from time to time been very much modified by admixture with forms of speech brought in by repeated immigrations from Aryan-speaking races on the mainland of India. The characteristics of the Turanian family are all, however, strongly marked in Melanesia and Polynesia at the present time. None of the languages spoken by these people can be considered inflectional, which is one of the distinguishing features of the Indo-European family. All the languages with which I am acquainted in the Pacific are more or less agglutinative. They all preserve the characteristic Turanian features that the root is never obscured, that there are very few if any irregular forms, and that there is often a great divergence of dialects. It has always, I think, been found a great difficulty by those who advocate the Caucasian origin of these peoples that whilst the Indo-European languages are often strongly inflectional, there are few, if any, evidences of an inflectional language in any of the Melanesian or Polynesian languages. One eminent professor who has lately written upon the subject, advocating the pure Caucasian origin of the Melanesians and Polynesians, has evidently felt the weight of this difficulty, and endeavours to explain it by the somewhat strange suggestion that the clash of two inflectional languages in a given district has produced a non-inflectional tongue; but this opinion will, I think, not commend itself to many students. Assuming, then, that the original inhabitants were Negritos, and that the language spoken was one of the Turanian family, I think that successive immigrants reached Indonesia and other groups from the mainland of India; that these immigrants, speaking a Caucasian language and mixing with the original inhabitants, eventually constituted the present Melanesian race; that the people inhabiting what is now known as the Malay Peninsula were more affected by those Caucasian races than those living on the more distant islands; that in course of time these constituted in Malaysia what we now know as the Eastern Polynesian people, and that these were eventually driven out of Malaysia by encroachments of Malay and Hindu immigrants. The expelled races migrated eastward, and probably first settled in Manua in the Samoa group, to which island nearly all traditions point as the place from which the dispersion to the different islands of the Eastern Pacific took place. It will be seen, therefore, I believe, that the original race was Negrito; that the language spoken by them was one of the Turanian family and not Caucasian; that the Caucasian element now seen in some of the languages, more especially in Eastern Polynesia, was due to an admixture of peoples speaking a language belonging to the Indo-European family; that the present Melanesian races are the earliest representatives of the admixture of the earlier immigrants with the original inhabitants, whilst the brown Polynesians who first inhabited Malaysia represent a later and greater admixture caused by successive immigration of Caucasian peoples; that these brown Polynesians were driven from what is now called Malaysia by irruptions of Malays, and proceeded eastward to Samoa, from which the dispersion took place.

It is not my purpose to enter into all the reasons which have caused me to adopt this opinion. I can only state that after fourteen years spent in the study of one of the purest and softest Eastern Polynesian dialects which is known, I went to live amongst a purely Papuan people, knowing absolutely nothing of these differences of opinion and never having heard that any man in this world had ever questioned the fact that the two languages and the two races were absolutely and radically distinct and separate. There was no white man in the New Britain group when I landed, and in fact most of the places had never been visited by Europeans, and certainly not by any Malayans or Polynesians. The language had never been reduced to writing, and there were, of course, no interpreters. My first task was to learn the language as best I could, and afterwards to reduce it to a written form. In this we succeeded so far that we have now a vocabulary of at least 6000 words, with a fair grammar of the language. The Gospel of St. Mark was first translated by me and printed, and subsequently the whole of the New Testament has been translated by the missionaries and printed, and this is now read intelligently by the natives.

It was during my work of writing the grammar and vocabulary and translating that my opinions changed, and that I was led to believe that the differences which exist to-day in the language and customs of these people, so far from proving that they are separate and distinct races, may be used to show that they are essentially of common origin. I was surprised to find not merely purely Eastern Polynesian words used to express identical meanings, but in the attempt to dig down into the heart of the language I unearthed Polynesian roots which, though not used to express the same shade of meaning, were employed to express one which was strictly analogous, though not absolutely identical. I am well aware that we cannot prove identity of origin from similarity in language, and also that the fact of a certain number of Malayan or of Eastern Polynesian words being found in a

Melanesian or Papuan language, apart from any similarity in grammatical construction, by no means proves that they are derived from a common stock. I have selected some 170 words which all express similar meanings in different languages, such as New Britain, which is a Melanesian tongue, and Samoan and Maori, which are both Polynesian languages, and these examples show that there is a great similarity not only in words which may have been floated in upon a language from outside sources, but also in the roots, particles, and words used in the different groups. Some of these, which are continually used in Melanesian dialects, are not found in Samoa, but appear again in groups still more remote from the present centre of the Melanesian-speaking races, either expressing the same meaning or a slightly different but analogous one. These root words and particles are a greater proof of the identity of different dialects than a much larger number of ordinary words of precisely similar form, or expressing the same shade of meaning. Mr. Alfred Wallace, whilst holding strongly to the opinion that the Malays and Papuans are essentially separate and distinct races, believes "that the brown and the black, the Papuan, the natives of Gilolo and Ceram, the Fijian, the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, and those of New Zealand are all varying forms of one great Oceanic or Polynesian race"; and in this opinion I agree. But I do not accept his explanation of what he calls "the occurrence of a decided Malay element in the Polynesian language." He states that it is "altogether a recent phenomenon originating in the roaming habits of the chief Malay tribes." There is nothing more certain than this, that many of the Melanesian and Polynesian races in whose languages words common both to them and to the Malays occur have never been visited by any roaming Malay tribe. We must go farther back for an explanation which will account for the fact. The correct explanation, I think, is that these words were in common use amongst the original peoples who inhabited the Malay Peninsula prior to the Malay irruption, and that they became the common property of both races. They were in the language of the Papuan races, in that of the mixed races which constitute the brown Polynesians, whom the Malays drove out, were adopted by the Malays, and so are found to-day in all branches of these families. One of the most striking examples I know of is in the word *rumah* (a house). This word occurs in the form of *ruma*, Duke of York Island, San Christoval, in the Solomons, and in the Motu language, New Guinea. It appears as *luma* in the Solomons, *uma* in Javanese, *suma* in Fate, and in varying forms in several other islands. As I have stated, there is not the slightest probability that any wandering Malays have ever visited these groups; but the word is there, and it is also in the Malay Archipelago. The word for house in Polynesia is *fale*, *vale*, *whare*, or some similar form; and widely different as these words *rumah* and *fale* appear to be, I believe that they both belonged to some common ancient stock, for I have found both used by Melanesians in one group in the present day. In Duke of York the common word is *ruma*, but the pure Polynesian word *pal* (*fale*) is also used by that people for an outhouse; whilst in New Britain, only a few miles away, *pal* is the common word for house. *Ruma* has been generally retained in Western

Polynesia, whilst *pal*, *fale*, *vale*, *whare* have been adopted by those who travelled farther eastward; but in a pure Melanesian group both words are used by the people living there. In one case *pal* has supplanted *ruma* as the word for house, whilst in the other *ruma* is the common word and *pal* becomes an outhouse only. A full comparison of these languages will show that in many other instances the same words are used to express the same or similar meanings in Malay, Melanesian, and Polynesian groups. *Prau* (a boat) in Malay, is *parau* (a ship) in Duke of York Island (New Britain), and *folau* in Samoan. *Ikan* (a fish) in Malay, is *iam* in Duke of York Island, *ia* in Samoa, *ia* in New Guinea, and *ika* in Fiji. *Bua* (fruit) in Malay, is *ua* in Duke of York, *fua* in Samoa, *ua* in New Guinea, and *vua* in Fiji. *Mata* (the eye) in Malay, is *mata* also in Samoa, Duke of York Island, New Guinea, and Fiji. *Lima* (the hand) in Malay, is *lima* in Duke of York Island and in Samoa, *nima* in New Guinea, and *liga* in Fiji. And many other similar instances could be given. An objection is sometimes made that it is unreasonable to think that the lower and unaggressive Melanesian race has imposed its language upon the higher Polynesian races, but it is not necessary to assume this at all. What is assumed is that these words were in the language of the original settlers in Malaysia, as they still are in those of other Melanesian races at the present time; that they were retained in the language of the mixed race which inhabited Malaysia prior to the Malay irruption; and that many of them were adopted into the speech of the Malayan people who drove out the mixed race which now constitutes the Polynesian peoples.

I am acquainted with and speak two Polynesian and two Melanesian languages, and I see no reason to alter the opinion which I expressed in the Introduction to my Grammar and Vocabulary of the Duke of York Island (New Britain) language:—

"The points of similarity between the two languages, as in the construction and formation of nouns and adjectives, the existence of the dual number in both, and traces of the trinal in the Eastern Polynesian, as in Tonga and Samoa, the use common to all of inclusive and exclusive pronouns, the reciprocal and causative forms of the verbs, the formation of the passive, the use of transitive terminations, and many other points which are neither few nor insignificant, all point to a common origin of both languages."

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY HOMES AND FAMILIES

There is but little difference between the manners and customs of the people living on the larger islands of New Britain and New Ireland, and for all practical purposes the inclusive name of New Britain will be sufficient.

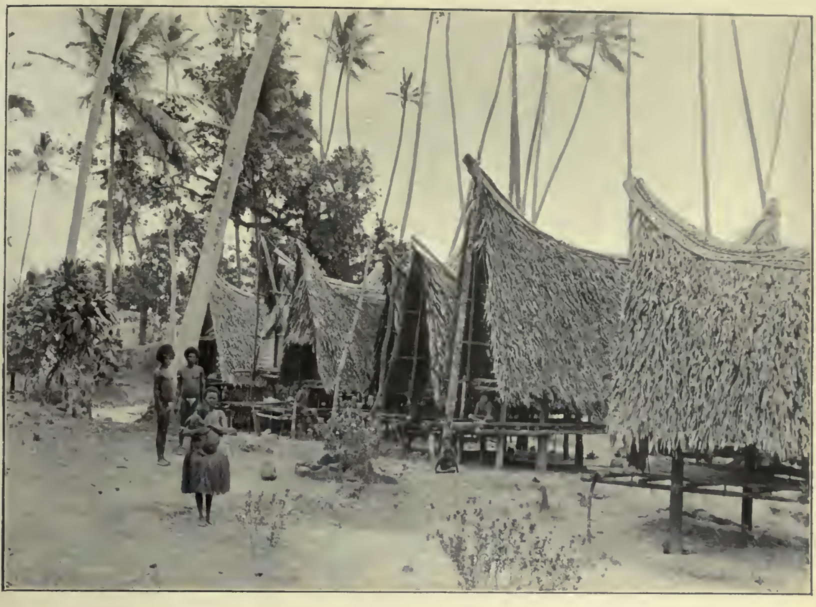
The villages in that group are generally situate in the midst of a dense forest. Those in which the coast natives live, however, are not built far from the beach for fear of attacks by the bushmen, of whom all the coast tribes live in continual dread. A New Britain village generally consists of a number of small communities or families. Their houses are built together in small clusters and separated from those of other similar communities by patches of uncleared forest through which run irregular and often muddy foot-tracks, scooped out in some places by ease-loving pigs into mud-holes in which they can wallow and enjoy themselves during the heat of the day. The houses of the respective families are generally enclosed by a live fence, and the interior of this compound is kept scrupulously clean. It is, indeed, easy to tell an old village site by a circular line in the bush caused by the accumulated sweepings of dead leaves and rubbish.

The houses are all very small and very poorly constructed. They are generally oblong in shape and very low. In olden days there was often a rattle suspended in the doorway at night, against which any one attempting to enter in the night would hit his head and so arouse the inmates. This was done as some protection against surprise and treachery. The furniture in the house was neither large nor varied. It consisted of a few bamboos along one side, raised a little from the ground so as to make a kind of bench or seat, a plank from some old canoe, which served as a kind of bed, a fishing-net, some spears and tomahawks, a few baskets of yams, green bananas, and edible nuts called *tamap*, and a few cocoa-nuts. There were also a few water-bottles and a basket or two containing lengths of native money called *diwara*, beads, pipes, tobacco, net twine, betel pepper, and areca nuts, and a gourd or bamboo box containing lime to eat with the areca or betel-nut. It might all be summed up as follows : a man and woman, a house, a fire, a board or leaf to sleep on, a few baskets of food, and a few weapons. Outside these clusters of houses, however, would be seen evidences of taste and appreciation of the beautiful in the planting of dracænas, crotons, and coleus plants of the brightest colours.

The houses in South-Eastern New Guinea are nearly all built on high piles, and are a decided advance upon those which I have described, whilst in the Solomons group, though the ordinary living houses are generally very poor, those of the principal chiefs, the tambu and canoe houses, are often very fine specimens of native architecture.

* * *

In Samoa the houses of the people are, as a rule, much better than those which I have described. Each

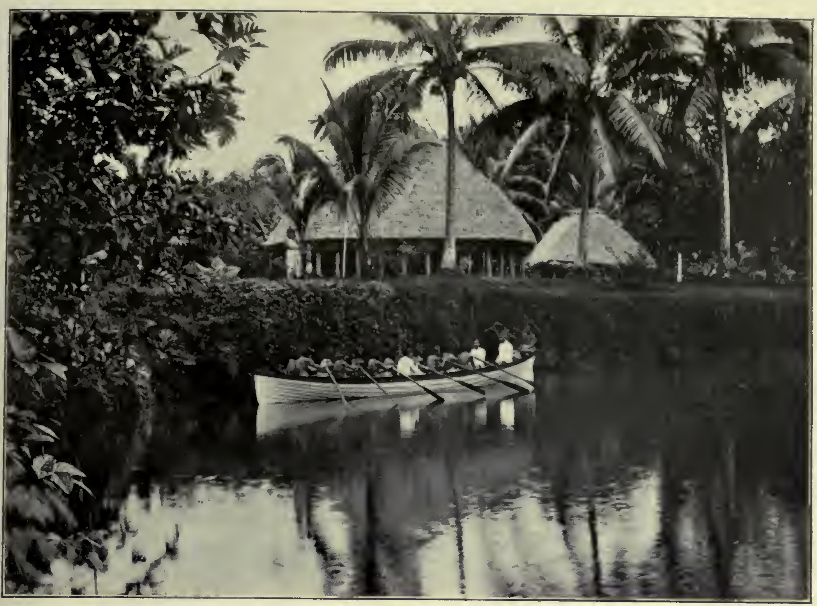


Houses on Fergusson Island, S.E. New Guinea.

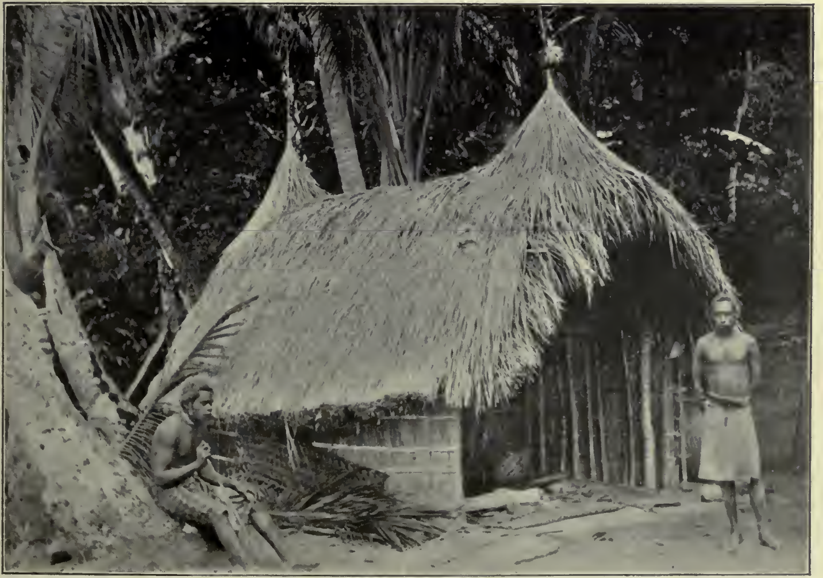
Marine Village, New Guinea.

chief or head of a family generally contrives to have at least one *fale ulu* or principal residence in addition to a number of smaller houses in which the members of the family live; to one of these latter the chief himself and his family retire when the principal house is occupied by visitors. Some of these houses are about 30 feet in diameter and 100 in circumference. They are supported in the centre by two or three posts or pillars, the best of which are made of a hard wood called *ifilele*, the greenheart of India. The roof is very beautiful. The rafters are adzed from bread-fruit or other timber, and the space between the rafters is filled up with small ribs adzed in a most ingenious manner from blocks of bread-fruit in short lengths and afterwards joined together until the requisite length is acquired. The rafters at each end of the house are semicircular in form, and the adzing and joining together of these pieces is always considered as a good test of the workman's skill. When inspecting a new house, one of the highest compliments which can be paid to the carpenter is to tell him that his rafters are like the rainbow. The sides of the house are composed of a number of small posts about 4 or 5 feet apart. The thatch is made from the leaves of the sugar-cane turned over small reeds and skewered thereto by the rib of the cocoa-nut leaflet. These are then tied on to the ribs, and if placed closely together will be quite waterproof and will last for six or seven years. The shape of the smaller houses is somewhat different from that of the principal one, and they are not often built of bread-fruit wood, but of ordinary bush timber. They are much longer at the sides, but with the same circular ends or gables, and are more like the prevailing shape in Tonga. The spaces between the posts are all open, but are closed at night by plaited cocoa-nut leaf blinds. These in the daytime are pulled up under the eaves, so that there is a free current of air all through the house. The best kind of houses are built on a raised platform of stones. The floor consists of stones and fine gravel, on which mats are laid down when any one is occupying the house. The bread-fruit houses can always be divided into four parts, so that each end and the two sides can easily be removed and taken away to some other site when required. This is often done, as this kind of house is frequently used as a present, in payment of fines, or in the interchange of property in marriage. The house is divided at night by hanging up large *tainamu* or mosquito-proof enclosures made of *siapo* (native cloth). This is suspended over the sleepers and stretched out by some bent sticks placed in the upper part of the *siapo*, thus making it into a kind of small tent. So far as I know, these mosquito curtains are peculiar to Polynesian people, and are not found in Melanesia, though mosquitoes are plentiful enough there. In olden times the houses of the principal chiefs were surrounded with two fences, one of high posts making it into a kind of fort, whilst the inner fence was made of lighter material. None of these, however, are to be found now. The custom of thus enclosing the houses is, as I have already stated, still common in a modified form in New Britain, but of late years, owing to the changed conditions of the people, it has not been found necessary in Samoa.

In Samoa most of the villages are now on the shoreline, and constitute small towns composed of many families, but in New Britain the old custom of the



Samoan Houses.



New Britain House.

families living in separate enclosures still prevails. There is, however, little doubt that in former times this was also the case in Samoa, and the people lived much farther inland than they do now. In going through the bush I have many times come upon the sites of old villages, and it is an undoubted fact that even in this generation several of the inland villages have been almost or altogether abandoned, the people preferring to live near the sea.

The furniture of a Samoan house is not much more extensive than that of one in Melanesia, with the exception of the mats which are such an important item of Samoan property. These are made of all kinds, from the plaited cocoa-nut leaf to the very valuable ones for which the Samoan people are famous throughout the Pacific. Some rolls of mats, a few bundles of native cloth, baskets, fans, fishing-nets, clubs, spears, paddles, water-bottles, and a bowl for the *'ava*, with a few small boxes, constitute principally the whole property to be found. In later years, however, there has been a tendency to build houses in the European style, and to furnish them much better than was ordinarily the case.

In describing the family life of the New Britain people, it must be remembered that all the people in New Britain, Duke of York, New Ireland are members of two exogamous classes named respectively, at Duke of York, Pikalaba and Maramara. These classes live together in the same village. The totem of the Maramara class is an insect called *ko gila le*, which means the leaf of the horse-chestnut. The insect is so called because it mimics the leaf of that tree, and when resting on it it is very difficult to distinguish between the leaf and the insect. The totem of the Pikalaba class is the *kam* (*Mantis religiosus*). Each class calls its respective totem *takun miat*, which means "our relatives," but I do not think they believe that they were descended from them. It appears to me to be a term expressing the close and intimate connection between the members of each class and the totem to which they respectively belong. Neither class will injure its totem, and any injury inflicted by one class on the totem of the other would certainly be considered as an insult and would occasion a serious quarrel. All lands, fruit trees, fishing-grounds in the lagoon belong definitely to the respective classes. A Maramara cannot set his fish-trap on Pikalaba fishing-stones, and vice versa. Such an act would certainly cause a fight.

Intermarriage in either class is absolutely forbidden. Any such marriage would be considered incestuous, and would bring speedy punishment; in fact, the whole of the people would be horrified at such an event, and the parties would almost certainly be killed. They also called incestuous (*kuou*) any one who killed or ate any portion of a person of the same class as himself, *e.g.* a Maramara who killed or ate a Maramara. The children all belong to the mother's class. These respective classes are well known, but there are no outward signs or marks to distinguish them. I think that in theory, but in theory only, every Maramara woman is every Pikalaba man's wife, and vice versa, but there is no trace, so far as I know, of anything like communal marriage; on the contrary, it appears to me that the regulations prohibiting the intercourse, or even mentioning the names, of relatives show that this was very repugnant to public sentiment and feeling.

The children of two brothers would belong to a different totem from their own, and in theory a man might thus marry his niece, but this is never done, so far as I know. A man, however, could not possibly marry his sister's daughter, because she would be of the same totem as himself.

With reference to this matter I received from South-Eastern New Guinea some information on the matter which seemed so strange that I deemed it necessary to make further inquiries, and I forwarded the statement to Rev. W. E. Bromilow, the author, asking him if it was correct.

Mr. Bromilow had stated that—

> At Dobu, and probably in all South-Eastern New Guinea, the class relationships do not exist together in the same village as they do in New Britain, and they also appear to be somewhat different from those which prevail in that group.
>
> In Dobu, each village has its particular class distinguished by the use of the same totem, generally a bird. All the people in each village belong to the same class, whereas in New Britain the two classes, Maramara and Pikalaba, exist together in the same village.
>
> In Dobu, as in New Britain, a man may not marry a woman of the same class as himself, and consequently he has to go to another village to obtain a wife. In New Britain, he may obtain his wife in the same village in which he lives, though, of course, from the opposite class to his own.
>
> In Dobu, a woman calls her sister, her mother's sister's daughter, and her husband's brother *tasigu* = my brother.[1]
>
> A man calls his brother, his mother's sister's son, and his wife's sister *tasigu* = my brother.

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[1] Mr. Bromilow crossed out the word "brother" and wrote = "my sister" as the correct term.

A woman calls her sister's husband *tasigu* = my brother.[1]
A man calls his brother's wife *tasigu* = my brother.

I also asked him to kindly reply to the following questions, which I now give, together with the answers given by Mr. Bromilow :—

1. Does a man call his wife's sister's daughter by the same name *tasina* ?[2]

No; but *natuna*, child.

2. Would a man marrying a woman of the same village as himself be considered as being guilty of incest ?

There is no word for "incest," but such a marriage is not allowed—it is *tabu.*

3. What are the principal totems used ?

Parrot, Pigeon, Cockatoo, Manucodia, Hornbill, Eaglehawk.

4. Are they (the totems) subdivided, or does each totem represent a separate class ? That is, is there a federal relationship between certain classes or totems, or is each distinct ?

Each is distinct.

5. Do members of the same totem, if living in different districts, fight each other ? Would a man eat a piece of another man of his own totem ?

They fight, but release a prisoner of the same totem unless pay is given by some other totem, in which case they hand the prisoner over to be eaten.

6. Have the father's sister's children (*nibana*) any privileges which are not enjoyed by the father's brother's children ?

The *nibana* are in closer relationship than the father's brother's children. The latter are far off, because not of the father's tribe.

7. Do the children of a sister occupy any special

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[1] As above, the word "brother" crossed out and "sister" given as the correct term.

[2] The word *tasina* should have been written by me *tasigu* = my brother or sister, when the correct reply would be *natugu* (first personal pronoun) = my child.

relation to the children of the sister's brother, or to the brother himself?

A woman's sister's children and a woman's brother's children are *nibana.*

A woman's sister's children and the woman's brother are true *wana.*

These I forwarded to my friend, the late Rev. Dr. Fison, asking him for his opinion on the matter. In reply, he wrote as follows :—

> As to *tasina* applied to wife's sister, I think a special inquiry is needed. My advice is, get the best authority in the neighbourhood to make a special inquiry about it. I cannot draw any inference from it as it stands at present. The wife, of course, is her sister's *tasi.* I suppose *na* to be the third person possessive suffix. The fact needs localising, New Guinea covers a lot of ground.
>
> In Fiji a man calls his wife's sister *noqu daku,* not "my back"—that would be *dakuqu.* It means one whose back is "turned towards me." She calls her husband's brother by the same term. At Serua the term is *lequ lewe ni were,* which means "my house inhabitant." *Were* there is not "garden" but "house," the same as the Maori *whare. Tasina* may be a similar concealment term. The natives grin when they use them.

I then returned Dr. Fison's reply to Mr. Bromilow, asking him for any remarks he might wish to make upon it, and received from him the following memo :—

> The only explanation I can at present find out about this *tasi-na* business is that it is used as a title of respect. There is no doubt about the correctness of the information. More inquiries should be made of the old men at Dobu.

Descent is always through the mother, and this sometimes causes trouble. At Dobu, in South-Eastern New Guinea, a male child was rescued from being buried alive with its dead mother. There were no female children in the family, and the women were very angry at the death of the mother, because she was the only woman by whom they might hope that their family would continue. Had the infant been a female, every care would have been taken to preserve its life so that the family should not become extinct. There were other children belonging to women of the family, but they were all boys, who, of course, would marry women of another "class," so that with the death of the mother of the boy who was rescued all hopes of the family being continued were lost. The only way to avoid that calamity was to purchase or capture a girl from another village as a substitute for the deceased. In their trouble they went to the missionary who had rescued the boy and implored him to have pity on them and buy a girl as good-looking as the deceased mother of the boy, from the Trobriands or some other island, as they could not in these days go on a war expedition, as they were accustomed to do in such cases.[1]

Polygamy is extensively practised. The number of wives depended solely upon the man's inclination and the amount of money or property at his disposal. As a rule, however, comparatively few had more than two wives, whilst the great majority were content with one. Warumwarum at Duke of York had seven, but his brother Topulu, who was a much higher chief than he, had only two. The relation of husband and wife was on the whole harmonious, the woman, however, having to do most of the hard work. The men generally contented themselves with clearing a space in the bush for the plantation and putting some kind of fence round it, but the continuous hard work and planting, digging, bringing home food and firewood, and cooking each meal, devolved almost entirely on the women. The husband generally accompanied them to work, but seldom if ever did more than march ahead of them with spear and tomahawk.

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[1] A full and more complete account of the class relationships in other parts of Melanesia will be found in Dr. Codrington's *Melanesians*, pp. 21-35.

The men and women ate together at home, but at public feasts they ate separately. The men spent most of their time in fishing, or in the *tareu* and lodge-room, where the secret societies were held. No pregnant woman can eat anything which is *tabanot*, *i.e.* which is complete. They cannot eat shark because the tail end is solid, nor a large arum because the leaf is whole and not serrated. They cannot eat a cocoa-nut if the sprout has died or been broken off. They must be careful also not to eat an ant lest the child should cry (*kamai*). They must also not eat the cuttle-fish, which is said to walk backward, lest the child should grow up a coward.

These prohibitions are not regarded as divine or as being a tribe-fetish. The meaning, however, is not clear to me except, of course, as regards the cuttle-fish. They are not connected in any way either with the prohibition of certain kinds of food to the members of some of the secret societies, or with that which forbids a man or woman to eat the animal, plant, or insect which constitutes his or her totem. I was not able to get any trustworthy information as to the extent to which abortion is practised, beyond the statement that it is frequently done. It is very significant that natives in, so far as I know, all these Pacific Islands assert that abortion can be effected by administering an infusion of a certain plant, and in the cases which have come under my notice they all point to the same plant, namely, a long straggling creeper growing on almost every sandy beach in the Pacific. I am well aware that medical men do not believe in the efficacy of any such infusion, but the natives strongly affirm it. In practice, however, the administration of the "specific" is generally accompanied by vigorous kneading or shampooing, which probably effects the desired result, but the natives themselves certainly believe that the plant is also necessary, and this not from any magical influence which it may be supposed to have, but from its medicinal properties only. The same plant is also used in cases of suppressed menstruation, but I have no evidence of its efficacy. The kneading is done by compressing the womb by the hands placed on both sides of the body. I have not heard of any pointed stick or other instrument being used. In the Shortlands group (Solomon Islands) there are certain old women who are recognised as infallible abortionists. They make the patient swallow certain leaves, one of which is a small leaf with three lobes, which grows on a vine or creeper near the sea-shore. Then a stone is heated and wrapped up in certain leaves. This is pressed heavily against the navel for some hours if necessary.

During labour and childbirth the father would have to leave the home, and only some married women would attend the woman. No men or girls were allowed to be near the house.

In New Georgia, when a native woman expects a little one, the women of her village build her a small leaf-house away in the bush, no man being allowed to touch it, and there in the dirt and damp with the rain often pouring through the roof her child is brought into the world. No man is allowed near the place, and the father does not see his child for at least fifteen days. The women perform some sort of religious ceremony with sprinkling of blood, etc., but the meaning of this does not appear to be very clear to them.

There was no particular class of professional midwives in New Britain, but any married woman would render the necessary assistance, for which payment would be made. Delivery was generally easy. Any difficult case was attributed to witchcraft, and prayers were offered to the spirits of dead ancestors to counteract the spell. One kind of witchcraft, which was used by some enemy of the patient or of her husband, was to obtain some urine from the woman herself, or failing that from some other woman near her. This was put into a small bamboo with leaves, earth, etc., with the accompanying spells or incantations. The orifice of the bamboo was then closed with gum, and the effect of this was supposed to close up the mouth of the womb. The attendant women sometimes removed the placenta when adherent. The woman was delivered when in a squatting position (*ki rokrok*), sitting like a frog. The umbilical cord was cut with a piece of bamboo and tied in a knot. Children when recently born are much lighter in colour than in after-life. Twins (*katai*) were frequent. If both were males or both females they would be allowed to live, but if one was a male and the other a female the girl was strangled. In some cases both were killed. This was done because being of the same class they were supposed to have violated the laws of class relationship or might do so in after-life. Both these reasons are given by the natives. In the Shortlands group (Solomon Islands) when twins were born one was always killed.

The new-born infant was fed in the first instance with a little of the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut which probably acted as an aperient. It was wrapped in a warm banana leaf and was carried for a few days on the sheath of a cocoa-nut blossom.

In the Shortlands group when a woman is confined and the child is a week old, all the women connected with the family assemble at the house of the mother; each woman brings twenty or thirty plants of taro with the tops on, and some strings of beads. The taro is put down outside the door, and the beads are handed inside to an old woman, who places them in a heap near the door. Then they go outside and dance, uttering at the same time a peculiar cry. This is repeated several times, after which they may go in and nurse and fondle the child. After a woman is confined the house is hung round with leaves and no man is allowed to enter it. If he does, they say he will be struck blind. The idea, no doubt, is to protect the woman's modesty. The father or grandfather, after a week, rubs himself all over with certain leaves cut up small, and is then at liberty to go inside the house. They also take strings of beads. They place these strings alternately over each shoulder, or they may simply touch the shoulder of the woman and lay the beads in heaps. The *tabu* is now over. Their word for *tabu* is *olatu*. The mother is very much afraid of witchcraft, and if strangers come she always hurries away with her child.

Infanticide used to be very common. If it was

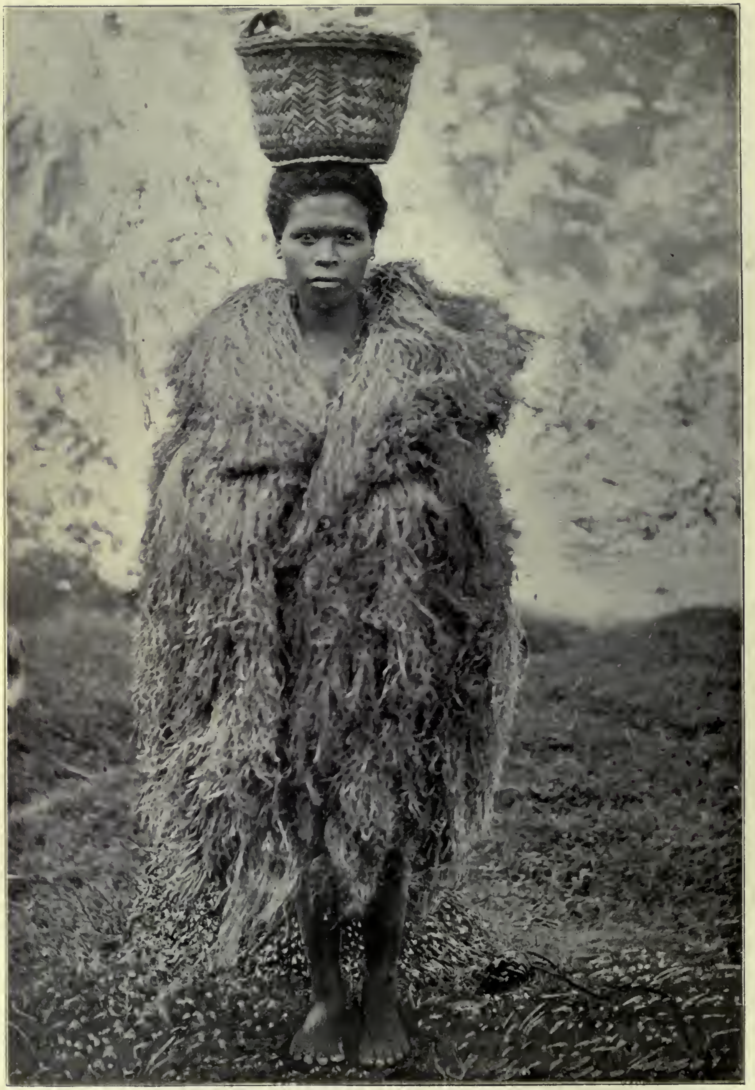


Photo. by Rev. M. K. Gilmour.

WOMAN OF KIRIWINA WITH COVERING WORN AFTER CHILDBIRTH.

decided that the child should live the women in attendance got warm taro leaves and pressed them all over the limbs and body, drawing out the fingers, and pressing the nose, etc., to make it beautiful. This is called *penapena.* A child which is once so treated is never destroyed. The umbilical cord was cut by a piece of bamboo. When the child was four or five days old solid food, such as cooked banana, first chewed by the mother, was given. If a drink of water was given it was always water collected from the dew on the taro leaves.

After the birth of a child the husband was not supposed to cohabit with his wife until the child could walk. If a child was weak or sickly the people would say, speaking of the parents, "Ah, well, they have only themselves to blame."

In Kiriwina (South-Eastern New Guinea) a mother always lifts up or presents her child to the first full moon after its birth. This is done in order that it may grow fast, and that it may talk soon. I could get no other reason for this singular custom, one which I have never met with except in this instance. It is, so far as I know, a new instance of moon worship.

No case of infanticide was known by me during my residence in New Britain, and the natives themselves declared that it was not practised. At Dobu, in New Guinea, when the mother died, her child was buried alive with her, if no member of the family was willing to adopt it.

In New Britain women suckle their children from ten to twenty months. Families, as a rule, are not very large. I knew one family of eight children, all of whom grew up, and I was told that two others of the same family had died in infancy. Another family consisted of seven children, all of whom grew up. A large number, however, of the women have no children, and there is a special word in the language to indicate this class. There is no want of virile power complained of by men. The women, I believe, eat some leaves to prevent conception, but none, so far as I know, to increase it. They believe, however, that they are increasing in numbers; a statement made to me on several occasions was that there were few formerly and had little money (*diwara*), but now there were more people and more money.

Albinism is not common, though they have a word to describe it. There is no difference whatever in the treatment of these people. They present the usual characteristics of Albinos. The hair is straight, and would grow long if allowed to do so. One Albino woman whom I knew was married to a dark native. She had three children; the first two were dark, and the third was Albino.

I have never seen a case of insanity in New Britain, though one case was reported to me. I only knew also of one case of a boy being deaf and dumb.

The names given to the children were very often given in connection with some event which took place at the time of birth. *Warumwarum* means a spear; *Kamara Ma-Kada*, born when at war with Makada; *Tama Outam*, seeing Outam, born when the enemy was sighted; *To Kinkin*, born when some one was wounded; *To lu Outam*, born when Outam were chased; *To pukpuku*, a grumbler; *To pirok*, a jumper; *Marua*, beginning to bear fruit first time; *Balantai*, to be busy with; *Ne Kibil*, a woman of Kibil; *Ne wakuku*, a woman who waits for her revenge like the wakuku; *Ne koko*, the woman whose father was forbidden to settle or plant on the land.

Widows were well treated, and the custom of killing any of them at the husband's grave does not exist in New Britain. After the death of the husband the widows sometimes passed to the husband's brother, and in any case I think he had the first claim to them. Occasionally they received some small portion of the husband's property, but I think they generally contrived to hide or obtain possession of some of it before he died.

The family life of the Polynesians in Samoa differs in many respects from that of the Melanesians, and yet it is not difficult to mark the survival of the older Melanesian conditions in the family life of the Polynesians of the present time, and in some instances to trace the processes of evolution or development. The late Rev. Dr. Fison says that "Descent is still uterine in *some* parts of Fiji; most of the tribes, however, have advanced to agnatic descent." In Samoa, so far as I know, we have only the traces of the old exogamous divisions and matriarchal descent, but that they existed is, in my opinion, certain, though it is not clear whether they were in force after the immigration of the Polynesians from their habitat in Indonesia. I think that they probably advanced to agnatic descent before that event, and only carried with them their old totems.

Fijian customs are interesting, as they are those of a Melanesian race which has to a considerable degree been affected, more especially in later years, by intercourse with Polynesians. I once heard a Samoan speak in public of a Fijian custom which to me was very interesting. He was endeavouring to impress upon his hearers the truth that every part of our life should be fully developed, our physical as well as our intellectual and spiritual powers; that practice was necessary as well as profession; that it was no use making a profession of Christianity and not carrying out its precepts in our lives, etc. To illustrate this, he said that in Fiji, when a chief was taking part in a *meke* (descriptive dance), or on some other great public occasions, one part of his gala dress consisted of a long piece of white native cloth (*masi*), with two long flowing ends, which was bound round his waist. Now, he said, if that chief inherited his rank only or principally through the father, only one end of his girdle was long and the other was much shorter. But if he inherited his rank as chief from both sides of the house, viz. father and mother, then both ends of the girdle were long and flowing. The application of the illustration will be readily seen; and the speaker strongly impressed upon his hearers the propriety of having both ends of their girdles of uniform length, and long and flowing. This custom illustrates also that in the advance in Fiji from the old Melanesian descent through the mother to that of descent through the father, the change was made gradually, and was not made by ignoring the matriarchal, but by the decay of the exogamous system and the consequent necessity of tracing descent through the father. It is probable also that the gradual rise of a class of chiefs, with much greater powers and privileges than those of their predecessors, who only exercised power by means of their repute as sorcerers, was an important factor. The traces of the exogamous system are still found in the semi-sacred character of the relationships of the sister and her family to her brother and her brother's children.

It is quite clear that under a purely exogamous system with female descent a man's children cannot belong to the same class as he does. In a certain degree, though he is their father, they are not of kin to him in the way that his sister's children are who are of the same class as himself. Then these children as they grow up naturally look to their "Father," the man whom we would call "Uncle," because he is of their own class or kin. This, however, does not quite account for the possession of the many privileges exercised in Polynesia by the Ilamutu, Tamasa (sacred child or person), or Tamafafine; and I am inclined to think that the semi-sacred side of this relationship was either brought in by the immigrants from the mainland of India, or has been slowly developed during the years which have elapsed since the Polynesians migrated. The Vasu in Fiji is practically the same as the Tamasa or Tamafafine in Samoa, but in the former case seems to have a wider range, as a man in Fiji may be Vasu to a whole town or district. The privileges and powers of the sister and the sister's children in the family in Samoa were very great. They were looked upon as sacred persons, hence their name Tamasa (sacred child or person). Their curse was especially dreaded, as it was supposed to cause barrenness in a woman or the death of children in the family. The only way to prevent these results was by propitiating the one who had uttered the curse, after which he or she would fill his or her mouth with water and spurt it over the person or persons against whom the imprecation had been uttered. Only a sister or sister's child had the privilege of sitting at the head of the grave and breaking the bottle of scented oil to pour over the uncovered face of the dead man. A man was especially careful not to expose his person before his sister or her children, and he would be very careful not to use any indelicate word in their presence, such as "the loins," a word which he would not scruple to use before other women. They had also some special privileges, one of which was that if some valuable mats were gathered by the head of the family, she had the right, if she chose to exercise it, to appropriate one of the mats for her own use; and it was quite common for the chief to beseech her not to take one of the best if she decided to make use of her privilege. The Samoans, however, in olden days, always contended that the Tamafafine had no right to *pule*, that is, to rule over or dispose of land. The late Rev. G. Pratt informed me that on one occasion the people of Safotu (a town in his district) were having a heathen dance with a party of visitors in the large house belonging to the head chief of the village without first having obtained his consent. Hearing the drum and the singing he went and stopped the dance, saying that only his sister's son had a right to make free with his house. His sister's son being a professing Christian at the time would not consent, and so the dance was stopped.

The family in Samoa consisted of father, mother, and children, and those living under one roof, or at least on the same premises, and having one oven or cooking-place. If the father's mother were alive she would probably live with them. If any of the children were married, the husband would live in the wife's family until after the birth of the first child, and whilst there his life would not certainly be a lazy one. He would be expected to be the drudge of the family, working, fishing, and cooking for them, and making himself generally useful. The husband, of course, did not by marriage become one of the family. Any orphan children of a brother or more distant relative might form part of the family, and would be treated as the other children.

The treatment of women was generally good. Sometimes a husband would in a fit of anger pick up a bamboo pillow and break his wife's head. My informant told me that the women sometimes were great scolds and exceedingly aggravating. The children were much petted and did pretty much as they pleased. If not allowed to do so, they would run away to another branch of the family.

A wife does not enter into the family of the husband. She is spoken of by them as *lo matou fafine* (our wife or woman), and on the death of her husband, except she is held by the ties of children grown up, she returned to her family. Both husband and wife ate together and shared the hard work of the family between them, and in this respect they were very different to the Melanesians. The husband in Samoa did most of the heavy plantation work and the fishing, though in both of these matters the wife took a share. It was considered the duty of the husband to feed and to protect his wife, and the duty of the wife to obey her husband and to wait upon him and on any visitors.

Polygamy was common in the case of chiefs only; but when a head wife was taken the others were sent home. Polyandry was utterly unknown. The wives of chiefs had each a separate house to herself.

Concubinage was permitted, and such women were considered as secondary wives, and any of them might eventually be taken as a wife without further ceremony. They were not usually despised. They lived in their father's family and confined themselves to one husband. A prostitute was called *taataa a le ala*. The *taataa* is a species of grass growing by the roadside, so she was regarded as common to the public. The word was one of contempt.

Families often took a name from some event in the past, as Malietoa, a name given from an incident in the war between Tonga and Samoa. The Tongans were defeated, and as they were leaving the group the chief of the defeated party called out in praise of his opponents, "Malietoa, Malietau," meaning "Good is your courage, good is your fighting." Savaii was called Salafai from an incident in one of their stories, when the voyagers made a sail for their canoe of a large skate fish, *la* meaning sail, and *fai* the fish. The villages were often called after the name of the tribe or family inhabiting them. Others were derived from some peculiarity in the location, as *Lelepa*, a pond; *Lalomauga*, the foot of the mountain; *Leagiagi*, meaning breezy place.

I did not make particular inquiries when in Samoa respecting the birth customs, but the late Rev. John B. Stair, in his work *Old Samoa*, gives the following account of the customs which were common to the Samoans in connection with the birth of a child, which I believe to be quite correct.

> During pregnancy the woman allowed her hair to grow long, alike as an evidence of her condition, and in deference to the received opinion that the child would thrive better in consequence. After two or three months had elapsed, the

first present of food was brought by the husband's relatives; if he had any sisters, by one of them. If the wife were a woman of rank this offering consisted of thirty, forty, or even fifty pigs; but if she were the wife of a Tulafale only of eight or ten. Some time after this an offering was taken to the mother in honour of the expected child, which also consisted of pigs, the gifts varying from two to three, up to fifty, according to the rank of the mother. This was called *O le popo* of the child, and strangely enough so named from the fact that the expressed juice of the popo or ripe cocoa-nut was the first food given to an infant. In case of a woman of rank, two months before the birth of the child the *afua* was observed, which consisted of each Tulafale or land-holder of the district bringing a present of a pig, the number frequently amounting to fifty, and even to one hundred. One more donation of food remained to be made by the husband's relatives and political dependents, called *O le taro-fanaunga*, the taro of birth, which consisted of a large quantity of provisions. These, with all the previous donations, were taken to the wife's relatives, and by them distributed among their friends and political connexions. Having made these various offerings of food, the husband's relatives awaited the birth of the child, and when within a month of her confinement the wife proceeded to her own family to be confined.

Hitherto the wife's family connexions have been the receivers of property, but now in return they collect large quantities of native cloth and mats, to be given in payment for the provisions previously brought them by the husband's relatives. This property was usually divided into five different portions, and distributed after the birth of the child.

As with the Hebrews of old, the act of birth was generally easy, and the female was soon enabled to busy herself about her domestic duties, sometimes even a few hours after the event. In all cases very shortly after birth both mother and child were bathed in cold water, sometimes in the house, but oftener in the sea, the mother taking her infant to the beach and quietly bathing both it and herself.

In the olden days the birth of a child was always announced to the neighbours by a man standing in front of the house and shouting with a loud voice several distinct war-cries, or *U-u-u*, five for a male and two or three for a female.

During the first eight or ten days the child was fed entirely upon the expressed juice or milk of the old cocoanut, after which it was put to the breast, and also fed with vegetables previously masticated by the mother. Of late years many females have broken through these restrictions. About the eighth day the child's head was shaved by being scraped with a shark's tooth, as a substitute for a razor, and soon after this the property which had been collected by the wife's family connexions was distributed to the husband's relations. On the conclusion of this ceremony great rejoicings were held, and the event celebrated by much dancing, boxing-matches, club-fightings, and other games, and then the visitors separated, taking with them the property they had received. When the child was able to sit upright another feast was provided by the family where the mother was staying, in honour of the event, the same custom being afterwards observed on three separate occasions, viz. on the child's being able to crawl on the floor, to stand upright, and also to walk. A custom answering to circumcision was universally practised throughout the whole Samoan group.

Shampooing or kneading is sometimes resorted to to procure abortion, but is not common.

Mr. Stair says that the act of birth is generally an easy one, but in these days, at all events, I have known many cases of painful and protracted labour, and in one village especially cases of retention of the placenta were very common. The position of accouchement is lying on the back with the knees bent up and separated. The woman was exposed to the view of the old women who acted as midwives. There were no special places or houses to which the woman and her attendants went, as in some parts of Melanesia. When the child born was a male the umbilicus was cut on a club that he might grow up a brave warrior. If a girl it was cut on the board used in manufacturing the native cloth, in order that she might be clever in the manufacture of that article. Great care was taken of the woman for the first few days, and she was muffled up in native cloth, lest her milk should "fly away." As long as the mother was nursing she was called "hand bound," and was not expected to do any work. Some old woman of the family waited on her and helped her to nurse. Suckling was generally continued until the child was running about, or weaned itself. Twins were frequent, and Mr. Pratt informed me that he knew of two instances of triplets. These last were disliked, as some ill-natured people might speak of them as a "litter." None of them, however, were ever killed as in Melanesia. Infanticide was not practised in Samoa. The parents look forward to a time when the children will help them, and eventually provide for their wants when they cannot work themselves.

Albinos were not common. They were well treated, but the natives did not appear to like them. A fine young woman in Savaii was allowed to remain single, either because the young men did not like her or were afraid of ridicule.

The average number in a family was small, numbering not more than three. There were exceptions, however, to this, some families numbering eight, and in one instance there were nine children from one mother, seven of whom lived. Barrenness was common with women. Mr. Pratt told me of the case of one chief who had many wives but no children. When these wives left him and lived with other husbands they had children. Want of virile power in men when complained of was caused by ill health.

As in Melanesia children were often called after some event that happened at the time of their birth, such as *alaga i taua*, because born during war when the cry was made that the fight was begun. Another one was named "trampled by a pig," because such had happened to her whilst an infant. Cases of insanity were not frequent.

Widows, unless they had children, were in no way tied to the family of the dead husband. There is no record of any such practice as sacrificing the widow when her husband died. She was still regarded as the dead husband's wife, and was considered *tabu* for some time, and certainly as long as she remained in her husband's family. Practically, however, a widow would soon marry again, and in many cases the husband's brother would take her to wife in order to keep the children in the family. She had, however, no prescriptive right to any portion of her husband's property. It may be interesting to give here a story which forms one of a large number of some stories written for me some forty years ago by one of the most intelligent Samoans whom I ever knew.

A TALE OF A LADY WHO BECAME PREGNANT WITHOUT HAVING ANY HUSBAND.

She brought forth her child Alualutoto (clotted blood), and the lady took it and put it among the *lausaato* (a fern). Vea (the name of a bird) passed by and took Alualutoto and caused it to be nursed. So Vea fed the child and it became his son. But the lady to whom he belonged did not know, because she dwelt in a canoe. When the child was grown up he worked miracles. He saw that his people were being all destroyed by the large kind of fierce shark, so he broke a tall cocoa-nut, and threw it into the cave of the shark and killed it, and so he saved his people.

CHAPTER III

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

Boys and girls are very much alike the world over, and the boys and girls in New Britain were no exception to the rule. They could not perhaps be called good children if judged by the standard which we set up in more civilised lands. Some children, however, in these lands would perhaps appreciate some of their advantages and liberties. They were not certainly troubled with some of the essential duties of civilised life. When they awoke in the morning, for instance, their toilet comprised simply a yawn and a stretch, and they were then ready for any breakfast which they might be able to find. If the morning air happened to be a little chilly they would warm themselves by taking a fire-stick, blowing upon it, and then apply it by turns to any part of the body which felt cold, giving the stick another blow to liven up the fire during each application.

Obedience to parents was not esteemed a duty when there was no fear of punishment to follow its neglect. If the parents told the boy to go to the garden or to some other work and he did not wish to do so he simply ran away to the beach or to the bush and came home when he pleased. He would, of course, have his share of the regular evening meal, but most of his food he picked up when and where he could.

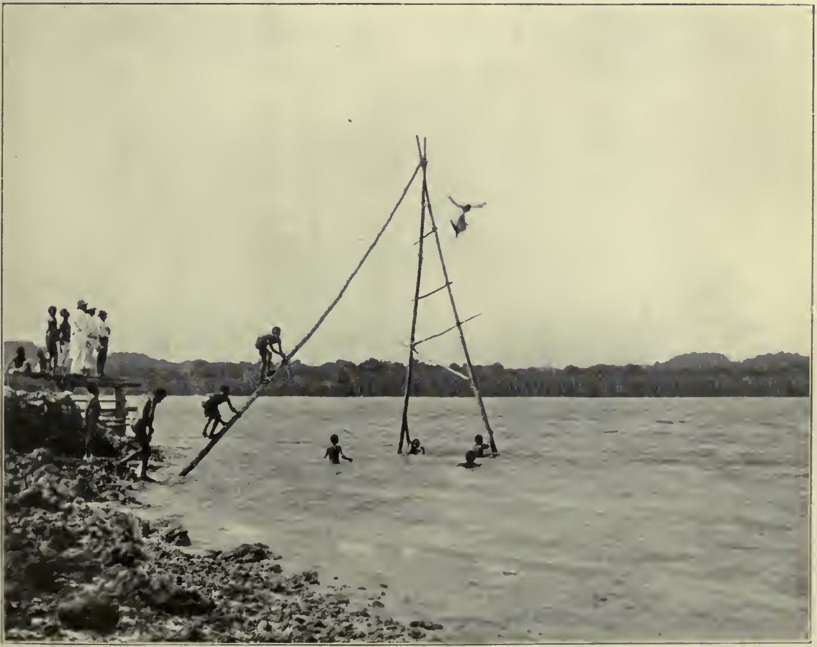
The games which both boys and girls played were, very many of them, like our own, together with some others peculiar to them. The boys often built houses on the beach or away out on the shallow waters of the lagoon, and got far more pleasure from living and sleeping in them than they did in their own homes. Sham fights, in which reed spears were used in place of the more dangerous ones used in actual warfare, were very popular, and in these fights they acquired a skill in throwing which was very useful to them in after-life. Contests with sling and stone, canoe races, fishing, boating, and bathing parties were often carried on in the day, and at night there were songs and dancing, and in many other respects they aped the doings of their seniors.

There were no such large club-houses as in other parts of Melanesia and New Guinea, but boys after a certain age were always supposed to live away from the home, and in most cases they slept in some large general house in the village. The girls generally remained with the family.

With regard to some points on the personal appearance and characteristics of the people upon which information is sometimes sought, I think it well to give this here, as far as I am able to do so, as they are generally fairly developed in early life.

The hair is naturally either curly or frizzled, growing in little tufts, and is very luxurious. From some photographs which I have it will be seen that it grows uniformly over the scalp, and often long enough to come over the shoulders, but as a rule it is kept cut, and they put lime mixed with some clay or colouring matter to alter the colour, as they like a light colour best. A red or white beard is esteemed by them a mark of great beauty. There is often a great difference in the colour of adults, but that is not due to any difference in rank between chiefs and commoners. In New Britain a light-brown colour is preferred, but in New Georgia (Solomon Islands) this colour is much disliked. I have not noticed in New Britain that dark-skinned natives bear exposure better than those of a lighter colour. There are cases of abnormal light colour of the skin. The natives attribute this to the work of a spirit. They recognise the different odours attached to persons, but attribute it properly, I think, only to want of cleanliness on the part of those who have it. They have no particular posture in sitting or when standing at ease. They micturate with hand on hips and also in sitting posture. The body is well balanced in walking and with the toes turned out. This, it will be seen later, differs from the Tahitians, who turn the toes inward. The foot is firmly planted in walking, and the average length of pace in men, and so far as I know in women also, is about three feet. The body is kept well erect with knees slightly bent. The gait is either energetic or slouching, according to the business in hand. The head is generally erect or slightly forward. They cannot swing the arm in walking much, as they generally carry arms or a basket. The attitudes in walking are remarkably easy, and the arms hang generally with the palm to the side of the body. They climb trees remarkably well, with a loop (*kinabin*) made of a creeping vine over the feet. When climbing large trees which they cannot grasp they make a loop which they hold in both

Girl of Ruviana, Solomon Islands.



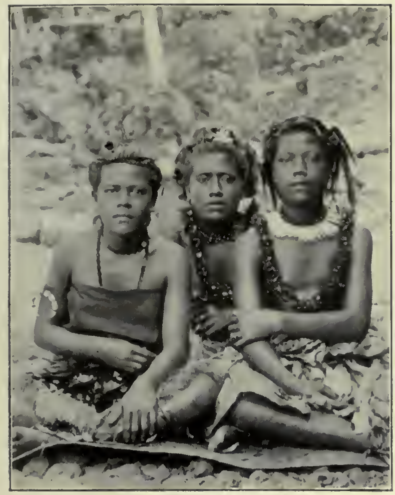
Diving Sports at Ruviana, Solomon Islands.

hands round the tree. Then they throw this up a few inches and pull themselves up by it and the *kinabin*. They also pass a rope by means of a bamboo or stone over the branch of a large tree. Then they make the other end of the rope fast to another tree growing near it, which they can climb, and go hand-over-hand along this rope to the other tree.

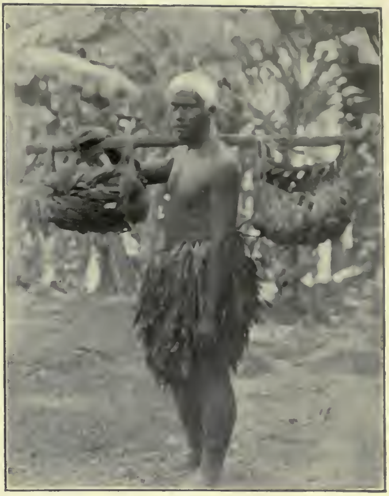
I have never noticed that they were able to move the ears or scalp, but only the brow and features. Before the introduction of fire-arms they could not shut one eye without closing the other, but they soon learned to do so when they came to use a musket. They point with one finger, but often use the chin. They never, however, point towards land when they are at sea, for fear that it would make the land move farther away from them. They have a few tricks of sleight of hand, but not many. The joints are generally very pliable, and they can pick up anything with the toes, and often pick fruit from a tree with their feet whilst holding on with their hands. They express astonishment as others do by the eyes and mouth being opened wide, and by raising the eyebrows. I do not remember ever seeing them express it by the opened hands being raised high up with the fingers widely separated and the palms directed towards the person or object causing astonishment. The usual plan of expressing this emotion is by covering the mouth with the hand, making certain ejaculations, and striking the thigh, but very often the forefinger is put into the mouth, then dragged out rapidly, and the finger and thumb snapped together with short ejaculations. They certainly blush from shame, and this is manifested by a deepening of the colour on the face and neck. When a man is indignant he expresses his emotion by frowning, holding his body and head erect, clenching his fists, and especially by shrugging the shoulders in a defiant manner. Disgust is shown by the lower lip being turned down and the upper one slightly raised, and is always accompanied by actual spitting. Fear is expressed in the same general manner as with Europeans, but with more cries. The shoulders are often shrugged to express inability or negation. The general way, however, is with the hands joined in front of the body and then thrown violently apart to express these ideas. The most peculiar way of expressing contempt or indifference is to make a noise like breaking wind with the lips, at the same time jerking the forefinger upward. The head is nodded in affirmation and shaken laterally in negation. The hand jerked or waved away from the body often accompanies the expressed "no."

The Samoans constantly expose themselves uncovered to the direct rays of the sun, the women wear their hair short, and the children's heads are shaved. Yet comparatively cases of sunstroke are rare. Privation of food is borne easily when food is not to be had. Often days are passed with nothing but the kernel of a cocoa-nut. Thirst is less easily borne, hence when they fasted on occasion of a death, to "drink at night" was the name given to the feast. Hunger, they said, was nothing compared to thirst. To satisfy thirst, they would, on a voyage, swim ashore to a rocky coast, climb a cocoa-nut, and swim off with some of the fruit to their companions.

They do not bear well the deprivation of sleep.

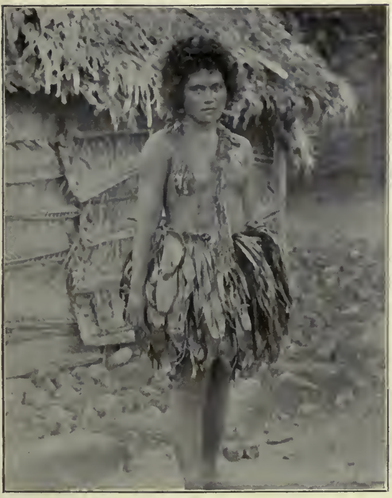


Three Samoan Girls.

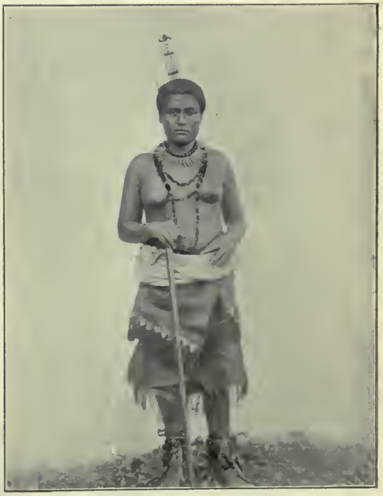


Samoan Young Man returning from work.

The hair is plastered with lime.



Samoan Girl in Working Dress.



Samoan Girl of Rank.

Sleep seems to them the highest or a very great good. Hence their farewell is *Tofa*, "Go to sleep."

Their skin is naturally moist. They have little beard, and very few of them are hairy on the chest.

Usually the women have plenty of milk, but a woman is unwilling to suckle any child besides her own, from a superstitious notion that the stranger lives, while her own child dies.

Occasionally a native attained to extreme old age. This could only be known by their recollection of events which took place long ago.

Old people are allowed to reach the natural term of life: in Niue, however, when unable to be of any further use, they were carried to a cave and allowed to starve. Mr. Pratt informed me that he knew at least one case in which an old woman saw her great-grandchildren. As they all marry young this does not necessarily imply great age.

Caries of the teeth is common, and they are much troubled with toothache.

Greyness is universal, and baldness common. The hair is wavy and in some cases curly, but in the latter case it is due only to nature. It often grows in great quantities, and in the heathen days the hair of males was allowed to grow to great length and was often tied in a knob at the side of the head. The hair is generally of somewhat coarse admixture. The fact that they call straight hair *lau ulu valea* (foolish hair) is, I think, indicative of their Melanesian origin, as all hair is curly or tufty in Melanesia. The men do not often wear much beard. They used to pluck out the hairs, and it is somewhat singular that the word *soesa*, which is the polite word for a chief's beard, is also used in common speech to indicate anything that is troublesome or unruly. The hair was dyed of dull reddish brown by plastering with lime, which was generally made by burning clam-shells. The hair growing under the armpits is greatly disliked and is generally pulled out. That growing on the pubes in women is much admired, and in the case of the village virgin was oiled and combed. The hair is often grey in a patch on the front of the head, and baldness on the top and front of the head is common.

With regard to their colour this may be fairly described as that of a cup of coffee with milk in, but the colour varies in some cases from birth, and in others from exposure to the sun, especially when fishing. I am inclined to think that the bushmen are a little darker than those on the coast. Those with dark skins bear exposure to heat better than those of a lighter colour. This is especially marked in the case of Albinos, where exposure to the sun blisters the skin. "Mother's marks" occasionally occur, but they are not common. Mr. Pratt informed me that he had seen one man who had his face discoloured by marks which are generally called port-wine marks, but I never saw any such case myself.

Some individuals have a very strong peculiar odour, which is well recognised by their neighbours, and is regarded by them as offensive. In the case of the Samoans this cannot be attributed to filthy habits, as the natives bathe frequently, sometimes several times a day. It was noticed also in the case of a half-caste girl, and was not removed by washing. It is generally increased on exertion. The natives have several names for this peculiar odour, one of which is *namu pea* (smelling like a bat or flying-fox).

The habitual posture in sleep is on the back or the side, but occasionally I have seen them sleeping prone as if wishing to screen their faces from flies.

A man stands at ease with one hand on the hip, he micturates in a standing position generally.

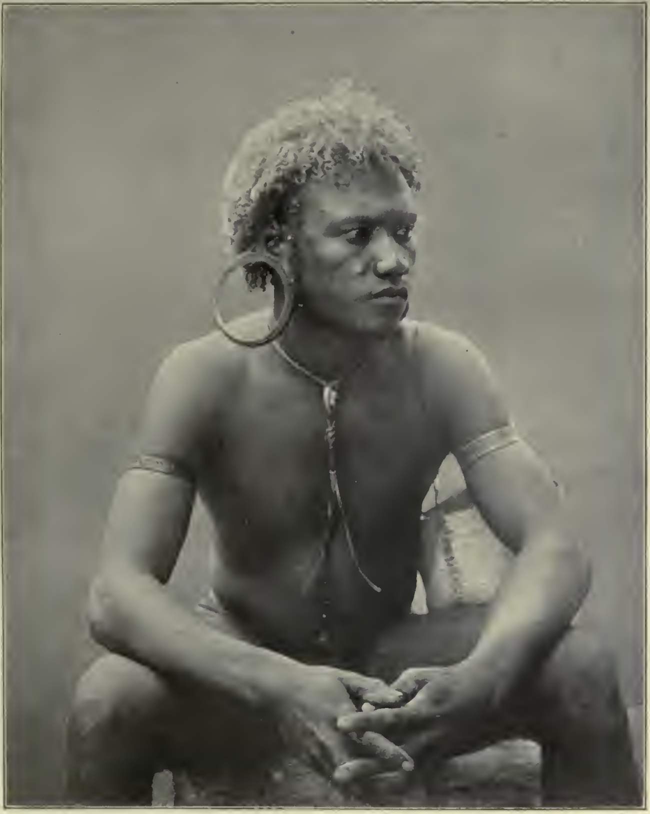
The body is well balanced in walking, and is often carried with a very haughty bearing. Samoans are noted for turning their toes out in walking, and in this respect they also differ from the Tahitians, who turn their toes in. The feet are firmly planted in walking, the heel making a deep impression in the sand. The average length of step is about three feet. The body is held very erect and the legs straightened. The gait is too dignified to be energetic, but is certainly not slouching, and the head is carried erect and somewhat thrown backwards. They swing the arms in walking. This is especially noticeable with the women. In moving any heavy body they habitually pull as in hauling a boat or a post. Pushing is only done by way of assisting in pulling.

They climb trees well, especially a cocoa-nut, and this is done by uniting their feet by a small coil of sinnet or tough vines. This is simply to secure a hold against the trunk of a tree. They then pull themselves up by their hands, clasped round the body of the tree. The feet are then drawn up as high as possible, the coil again pressed against the tree, and the body drawn up again to its full length. This is done until they reach the top.

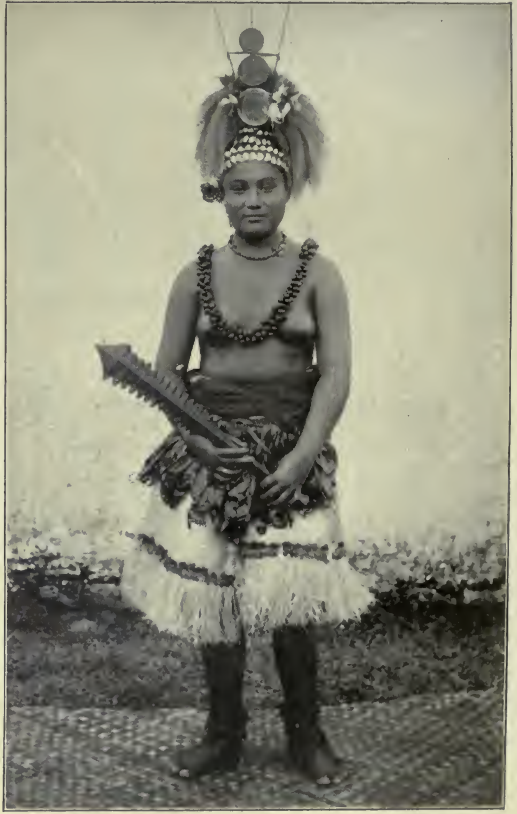
I have not noticed any power of moving the ears or scalp; the facial expression, however, varies much with the emotions.

As a rule, they point with the hand. They have considerable power in extending the great toe, and can easily pick up small objects with their toes. If a girl, for instance, dropped a pencil on the floor, she would rarely stoop to pick it up with the hand; it would be picked up between the two toes, and then placed in the hand.

Astonishment is expressed by covering the mouth with the hand much in the same way as by the Melanesians. The Samoans utter at the same time an exclamation, but are not nearly so demonstrative as the Melanesians, and I do not remember seeing them express astonishment by putting the forefinger into the mouth and snapping the finger and thumb. They express defiance and anger by holding the body and head erect, and by clenching the fist, but this is only done when much excited, for the Samoan, as a rule, tries to conceal his feelings. That he does not always succeed is evident, however, from the language, for they have words signifying guilty-looking, thief-looking, lascivious-looking, jealous-looking, etc. They certainly blush from shame, and this is seen by a deepening of the colour of the skin, whilst extreme fear makes them pallid-looking. When in good spirits the eyes sparkle, and all the rest of the features are expressive of the feelings. They sometimes, indeed, laugh so heartily as to bring tears into the eyes. Children pout and protrude the lips as much as other children do, uttering at the same time exclamations expressive enough to all who hear them. Affirmation is shown by nodding forward or throwing the head back. In negation the head is shaken laterally. If inviting any one to come, the hand is lifted with the palm turned towards the person invited, and then



Young Man of Ruviana, Solomon Islands.



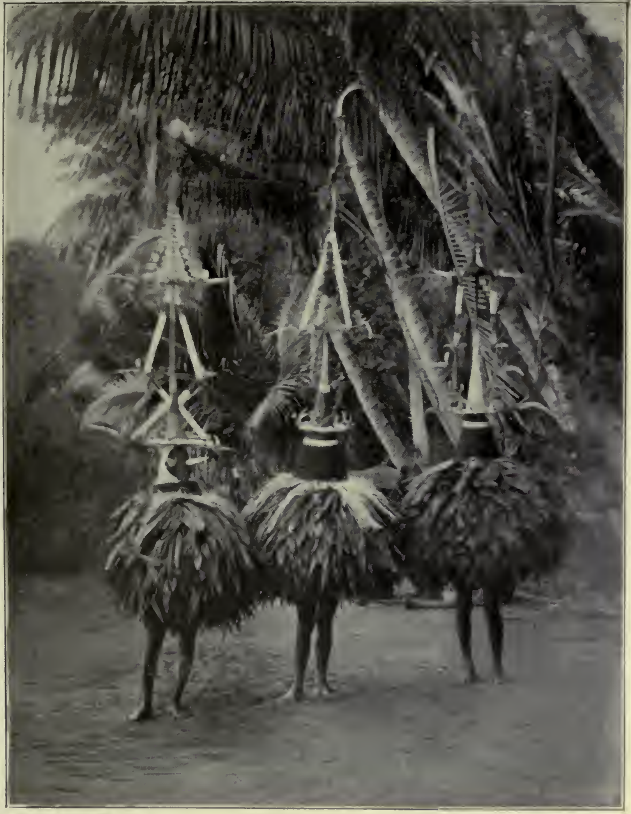
Samoan Girl dressed for Club Dance.

drawn towards the one calling. To warn off or away, the hand is waved from side to side with the palm turned towards the party waved to.

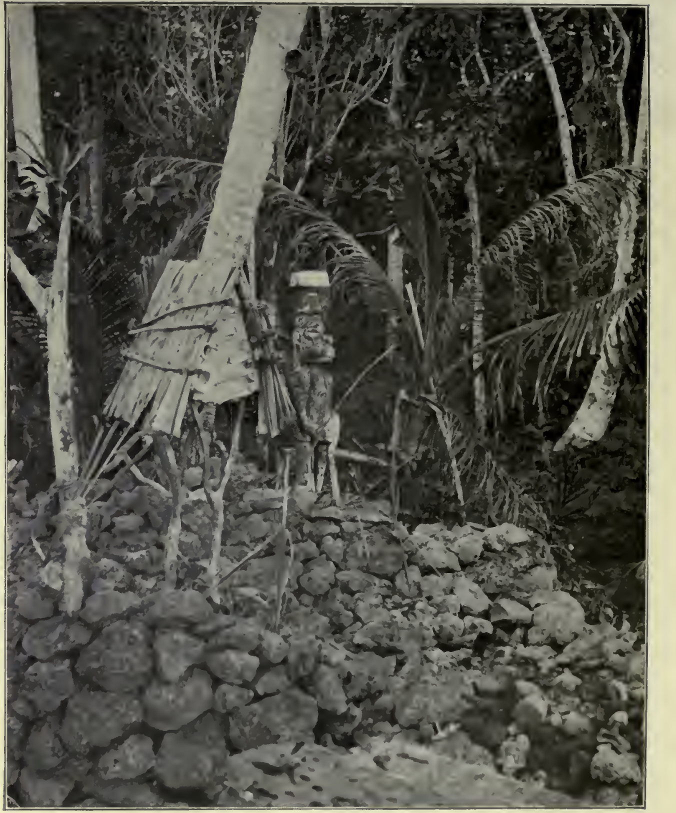
With regard to the Samoan youth, it may be said that, judging from our standards, the life of the young people was on the whole a very happy one. They have of late years had to attend school, but this has never been regarded as a very serious matter by the Samoan boys and girls. As a rule, they went because they wished to go, and stayed away when they pleased to do so without any fear of punishment. School hours would not occupy more than one or two hours in the morning, and the rest of the day was free for fishing, playing, or working. They often amused themselves by the erection of miniature houses on the beach or in trees, by games which will be described later on, and especially by bathing and canoe racing. The fine moonlight nights in the Tropics were always utilised by young and old, the latter generally congregating together in front of some houses retelling the old stories or talking about some of the current gossip of the village or district, whilst the younger ones often spent many hours in games and singing.

Returning now to the Melanesians, it would be at the stage of early manhood and womanhood that most of them would have to enter one or more of the secret societies, and so be prepared to take their place in the adult life of the towns or districts in which they lived. As the entrance into these societies often preceded marriage, I think it well to give some account of them here, though it must be understood that a young man does not necessarily enter into all of them, or that entrance into any particular society is absolutely necessary. As a matter of fact, most of the adults belong to one or more of these societies, but I have not been able to find evidence that entrance into any particular one is absolutely necessary before a man can be recognised as an adult member of the tribe.

The first great society which I will describe is that of the Dukduk. This account, I may say in passing, I wrote when I was living in New Britain, from information supplied to me by a member of the society. The impression made upon my mind at the time was that the principal object appeared to be to extort money from every one else who was not a member, and to terrify women and those who were not initiated. They had a "sacred" piece of land called the *tareu*, in which their house or lodge-room was placed. Here the dresses of the Dukduk were prepared, and from that place the Dukduk went out, whooping and dancing, to terrify or amuse the people. Here also the members congregated all day long whilst Dukduk operations were in force, and gossiped, ate, and slept to their hearts' content. No women nor any uninitiated man or boy dared go near this sacred enclosure. The Dukduk was represented to the outside public by a figure dressed in a full leaf girdle, composed of rings of leaves strung together extending from the breast to below the knees (see illustration). These, when shaken as the figure danced, increased the awe with which Dukduk was regarded. The upper part of the body was covered by a high conical mask gaily ornamented, made of wickerwork, and covered also with leaves or cloth. This extended down over the shoulders and



Members of Dukduk, a Secret Society of New Britain.



A Cairn with small Structure containing a Skull and a Carved Figure.

arms and rested upon the leaf girdle, so that the whole of the man's body was covered with the exception of a part of his legs. A spear or stick, and sometimes also a human skull was carried in the hands as he or she went whooping and dancing along the paths. Often two or three Dukduks emerged from the *tareu.* The women and boys all hid as these figures went along. They were supposed to believe that the Dukduk was a spirit from the bush, and they very wisely pretended to do so. Some of these Dukduks had only a short black mask instead of the gaily ornamented one. Those were the females who "gave birth" to the Dukduk proper.

The account given to me is as follows:—

At some time the chiefs gather together and decide that Dukduk shall begin again, or rather live again. They build the house on the sacred land and put up the fence round it. Of course there is some feasting over these. Then the two female Dukduks, who are always kept that they may "breed" new Dukduks from year to year, are brought out and their heads dressed up again and new leaf dresses made. The Dukduk masks are simply large wickerwork head-dresses, in the shape of candle extinguishers, which come down on the shoulders. The female ones are painted black with eyes and face, and are very plain as compared with the males. This head-dress is put on one of the initiated, and the rest of the body down to the knees is covered by leaf girdles, which shake and rattle as the man inside hops and jumps, but more of these by and by. The chiefs then appoint the number of boys who are to take part in the initiatory ceremony of *wawolo.* These boys are put in pairs. The first thing, of course, is that they should borrow a lot of *diwara* from their friends. Then the first part of the ceremony takes place near the beach, but not on the sacred ground. Women are present as onlookers at this, but do not take part in it. People are gathered together from all parts, but they are all hidden about the bush, the chief alone being visible and standing. The boys are then brought, and immediately the chief rushes at them with a sling and stone to fight them with, crying out in apparent anger, and asking why they have dared to venture there. As soon as he does this all those who were hidden jump up, shout, and clash their spears, engage in a sham fight and *lokat.* General confusion ensues, and they fight the boys. Then a strange part of the ceremony takes place. The chief or chiefs and the Dukduk stand at one side of the open place and a man rushes out with spear and tomahawk towards him or them, pretending to fight, shouting, and apparently very angry, and then very suddenly he stoops down in front of the chief or in front of one of the Dukduks with his back towards him, and the chief or a Dukduk smites him a good hard blow on the back. The man jumps up, shouts a shout of defiance or of boasting indifference, and then prances off. Others go through this performance in quick succession, some of them even taking two shares, one from the chief, and another from Dukduk. Most of them, however, are content with one, and no wonder, as the blows in many instances are very severe, and must give a good deal of pain. This is called *wegau.* Some have fainted from the effects of the blow; others, it is said, have received injuries from which they have died. After this is over the women and all uninitiated men or boys go away, and the lads are taken, for the first time in their lives, to the *tareu* or sacred land, and now they are called *kaba wanai*, literally, the company of entered ones.

They are then seated, and each lad has his entrance fee before him. If he has, say, 60 fathoms, 10 of these are put aside with 3 fathoms for the chief and the remainder divided out amongst the members of the craft. This is done with all of them, and then the bulk of the members disperse, leaving the lads still seated in charge of the old and lame members. The others go and collect food which they bring in and cook. As soon as this is ready the boys are sent away to bathe, and whilst they are away the food is brought in. A small portion is left in the open space, but the remainder is put up in baskets and a basketful placed in front of each boy's seat, but carefully covered up and hidden. When the boys return some one calls out, "Why have you people eaten all the food, and left none at all for these boys who, alas, have nothing to eat?" Then two old men stand up, each having the rib part of a cocoa-nut frond in his hand. One of them prays first to the spirits of the departed Past Masters of the Order calling out the names of each, and prays: "*Dokdok pa ta diwara na Dukduk. Dokdok ara pa kaba wanai diat a gugut*," which means "Payment this, that Dukduk may have *diwara*." "Payment this, to make the way clear for the young men who are in pain (from hunger)." It is not clear whether the word "payment" applies to the reed or to the prayer. My informant thought it referred to the prayer. The two men then advance, meet each other, exchange reeds or rather the rib of cocoa-nut leaf frond, and each plants his reed in the ground. The food is then uncovered and they eat. They lie to the young fellows saying, "You must eat everything of it now (impossible), not leave a bit." They will go also and beg a portion from them though they dare not eat it, as no one can eat the young men's food but themselves. The young men cannot go away or play now, but must stay on the ground.

Some time after this the first *watama* or "looking" is carried out. The boys have not yet seen Dukduk, and so now they are taken out to look for him, and they are made the victims of lots of deceit and lies. The old hands keep them rushing about around trees, or clumps of bamboos, calling out "Look out, there he is," and away the lads go to find that they have been fooled. At last they come to a clump of large bamboos in which they are told Dukduk is. A number of the old hands as usual are hidden in the bush round about. Each lad has a short piece of money (*diwara*) tied to a rib of cocoanut frond, and as they go round the clumps of bamboos the men hidden rush out from the bush, shouting, sham-fighting, etc., and snatch away the *diwara*. Some *wegau* and other old hands then cut down, with small blows, so as not to disturb Dukduk, a number of large heavy bamboos, one for each lad. These are wrapped carefully up in leaves, and they all carry them at a walking pace to the *tareu*. This bamboo is very heavy, but they are not allowed to put it down or let it touch the ground, nor must the sun shine on it. Tired and weary they reach the *tareu*, but outside the fence each one puts his bamboo on two forked sticks and covers it up with nut leaves. Then they go to the *tareu* to eat, but before they eat, the two old men pray again and exchange their *noko* (rib of cocoa-nut frond), stick them in the ground, and then the lads eat. (Notice, they always pray thus and exchange *noko* when they eat: "Is the *noko* to represent *diwara* to the *tebaran*? My informant thought so.) On this trip also they bring in vines which are to be used in making the Dukduk.

Next day, or a day or two afterwards, this affair is repeated with a still heavier article *uduudu*, the heavy stem of the wild banana. These the poor tired apprentices bring to the *tareu* and place them on plaited cocoa-nut leaves. As soon as they have deposited their burden the men, who, as usual, have been lying concealed near them, rush up and call out in a most excited way to be quick and untie them. As soon as this is done they rush on these stems of banana which these poor fellows have carried in, and smash them up with sticks, sham-fighting at the same time, yelling and shouting, drums beating, horns going, and a general uproar. The female Dukduks then dance in front of them and jerk off the mask and leaf girdles and throw them at them, and thus the lads are supposed to know for the first time that one of their own people was under each mask. The remainder of the dresses are taken off, and now they are regularly entered into the society. The old fellows pray again, and then all eat, the neophytes, as usual, by themselves. From this day no man is allowed to live with his wife. If they do this the dyes which are used in dyeing the flax will not act properly, and instead of bright red the flax will turn a dirty red or black, according to the greatness of the transgression. When flax (*piro*) and other materials for making the masks are prepared, the chief dismisses all to their separate *tareus*, and appoints each neophyte his Dukduk. Other feasts follow in the different *tareu*, and then all gather together for a great feast, also called *watama*. When making these masks the ends of the cords are left on, and lots of lies are told to the neophyte about the way in which these are to be cut off. When all is ready they are sent away into the bush in charge of a Dukduk, whilst all the rest of the men cut these ends off and get most of the masks ready, leaving, however, a few uncut ends. When the boys are called at dusk, every one has an unlighted torch in his hand. They light these, and are then told to go and burn off the ends of the strings, but the moment they attempt to do so the old men snatch the torch away and there is a general rush on them, the masks are snatched away, and another uproar follows. Then they go to eat. The old fellows pray, exchange *noko*, and all eat as before.

After this the leaf girdles (*a pio*) are made, and then Dukduk goes to the chief's house in the village, but the mask is white still (*i lara kabag*). Next day it is dyed red. They cover with leaves the parts which they wish to remain white, and then paint over the other parts with a dye made of roots and lime mixed. The boys are not allowed to see all this process. Next day is *wapat* or *apag*, and the chief then pays back the 10 fathoms which were set aside in the first *wawolo*. He also pays a lot away to other Dukduk. They have *wegau*, and a lot of food is distributed. After this the Dukduks visit all the different villages, and get presents from all. Then the friends of the neophyte pay him, and so he gets money to pay off the debts he owes for the *diwara* which was borrowed to pay his entrance fee.

Another feast is called *kumkumut*, when they eat banana, taro, cocoa-nuts, and fish only. At this each pays the men who had anything to do with helping at all these affairs.

After some weeks the affair is brought to an end. Dukduk is supposed to be sick. A great feast is made, food (*a pulpulug*) is placed on baskets (*kupa*), in a row as usual, and a small basket for the gods or spirits at each end. On one side of this row a man is stationed opposite each basket of food, and on the other side each Dukduk stands by his mask. The Dukduk men step aside, and then two old men take each a *noko*, pray, and then drive it at the masks. If the leaflet rib should strike any of them, the man who owns that particular one will certainly be speared by the enemy very soon. Then each of the men on one side of the row takes hold of the basket in front of him, and all wave them twice towards the men opposite to them, and at the second time say, "This is your food." At the second time the men standing by the masks at once seize them and heave them far away. General uproar and fighting as before. Any mask which may fall on its side thereby foretells the death of the wearer before very many months have passed. During this confusion two men run off with the small baskets of food and put them in the bush for the spirit (*tebaran*). After this the Dukduks go for the last time to the chief's house and to the other houses in the village. There is no dancing now, but on the contrary they limp and halt and seem faint and weary. All the people know that Dukduk is sick and death is near. The women cry and howl as the mournful procession passes, as if a relative were dying. On this their last journey they go back to the *tareu*, the female masks are put away that they may generate a fresh lot next year, the others are destroyed, dresses are burnt, and the neophytes are now masters (*tena maul*), who will take a pleasure next year in inflicting upon another lot a full share of the trouble they themselves have endured.

What all this means I cannot tell, but I can say that it bears no resemblance whatever to any secret European society that I know or have ever heard of.

On Duke of York they say it is comparatively a recent discovery. The story is that the first Dukduk came to the group not many generations past. It was found by a woman at Birara, New Britain, floating on four cocoa-nuts (note that this number of nuts is still placed with the food). She took it up, tried it on, found it too long as it went to the ground. She made braces to suspend it with, and so it remains now. Then she dressed it, and soon exhibited it and got lots of money. The men, however, got jealous, and said that women were not tall enough for it, and so they bought it and forbade women to go near it ever afterwards. There are no secret signs or grips of any kind. A man who was not initiated might find his way to the *tareu*. If, however, he took any part in the ceremonies he would soon be found out, and then his life would certainly be taken. The fact of members of the same brotherhood being on different sides in war would not make any difference whatever. A man would kill, cook, and eat a brother Dukduk without any qualms of conscience whatever.

The Rev. R. H. Rickard, in a paper contributed by him to the Royal Society of Victoria, Australia, describes the Dukduk as carried out on the mainland. This is practically the same as in other parts of the group, and the following extract from Mr. Rickard's paper will show how the powers of the society are exercised :—

> There are very few adult males who are not members of the Dukduk, while many boys as young as four or five years are members too, as their relatives fear their being fined for crossing some part of the tabooed ground, or for some precocious remark about the "bird," which would cost more than the initiation fees. This makes men of them, for the uninitiated are laughed at and spoken of as "women," and natives dread sarcasm more than spears.
>
> These large societies in the past found plenty of employment, as they were really the government in the various towns. Everything that was wrong in their eyes gave them an opportunity to extort shell-money[1] (*tambu*); in this respect they were a terror to the doers of such evil as is condemned by native public opinion; but "might" with these natives is generally "right," so that the weak, especially the women, were the victims of their lust for gain. If a woman were known to have a little hoard, it was not difficult to devise an excuse for dispossessing her of it. Thus, I knew a woman who owned a small basket of shell-money; she was accused of the serious crime of laughing at a man in the presence of others which caused him shame; he, being a member of the Dukduk, mustered a party at night to go with the Tubuan (female Dukduk) to her home, and they took the whole of her wealth.
>
> In petty cases, the Tubuan (female Dukduk) simply goes to the home and drives "her" spear into the ground, and squats beside it, perhaps to hide "her" legs, which might be recognised by some mark on them, till some shell-money is offered to "her," which, if not sufficient, "she" rejects by

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[1] Shell-money, called *diwara* on Duke of York Island, is called *tambu* on New Britain.

turning from it. If a member of the society is near, he goes to the Tubuan and ascertains "her" business. If only women are present, and cannot guess the reason for "her" visit, they send for a man, who is known to be a member, to come and ascertain, for a woman dare not attempt to speak to "her," or even to hint that communication by speech with "her" is possible. In these cases the members speak to the Tubuan or Dukduk in a whisper. It is taboo for even members to speak aloud to them in public.

In more important cases a large party, headed by the Tubuan, goes at night to the home of the delinquent, or to that of his more wealthy relative, for compensation. It is often a pretty sight to see perhaps a hundred men with torches wending their way up a hill, while all are whooping and the Tubuan often interjecting "her" name. Their errand is generally known beforehand, and they are met with the *tambu.* If it were refused, the man's house, if he himself escaped, would be torn to pieces or burned, in which case the Tubuan only would be said to have done it. Dreadful violence and license are allowed to the Dukduk or to its representative, the Tubuan. "She" may murder men or women with little or no excuse, and little or nothing is said about it, lest the secrecy of the institution be violated. Its decisions are the *vox populi*, and its strength is the "might" which among natives is undoubted "right." Hence the people fear it to such an extent that they would rather suffer an unjust fine than venture to incur its wrath. When the *tambu* is brought forth, it is scrambled for by the crowd; any which the Dukduk owners might get they would claim in the name of the Tubuan; it is called *tambu na tabaran* (evil spirits' shell-money, *i.e.* poor man's money).

The owners get fees for tabooing cocoa-nut trees or plantations, for obtaining fines on behalf of private parties, and for the Tubuan's presence on great occasions. The Dukduk's taboo is greatly valued, as people fear its wrath too much to run the risk of incurring it by stealing what is prohibited. A great deal of the society's income is from fines for various reasons, *e.g.* speaking disrespectfully of the "bird," as by implying the truth as to "her" person, by calling its dress "leaves" instead of "feathers," for speaking about it in the presence of women, etc. No one must hint that things are not what they are called, but of course the supposed secrecy is much greater than the real. Any excuse is availed of to fine non-members, *e.g.* a lad here was fined 3 fathoms of shell-money for accidentally breaking a member's pipe, which might have been bought for a finger's length.

I have several times witnessed a peculiar ceremony in connection with the Dukduk dance, though I think it is not absolutely confined to that. I do not remember seeing it in later years, but in 1875, some few months after our landing, I wrote a description from which the following is an extract:—

One of the masked figures is heard crying out in the bush, and then the wooden drum is beat, and soon the figure Dukduk hops into the village, jumps and dances through it, and then goes away. In a short time two and three, and finally the whole five of them came at once, one of whom bore a human skull in his hand, part of which was painted red. After this a large number of men, all armed with spears, clubs, and tomahawks, joined them, and all advanced with weapons poised as if attacking some enemy or performing some war dance. As they passed the houses we heard loud screams, and found that they were from the women whose late husband's skull was borne by the Dukduk. After this dance was over there was a most singular ceremony performed. Two old chiefs took their stand at one end of the square, and a number of men rushed out and began jumping and poising their spears as if looking for an enemy. Then one by one danced up in front of one of the old chiefs, and after making a few feints with their spears, suddenly turned their backs and stooped down whilst the chief gave them each a smart blow on the back with the stick he held in his hand. One of the chiefs used a thick soft stick, but the other one had a hard stick about the thickness of a walking-cane, and he laid it over their backs very heavily sometimes, quite hard enough to make them wince, and to leave a good mark on some of them. I noticed that some of the men took the blow from both the old chiefs, but the majority of them were satisfied with one stroke.

Another society in which a youth is generally initiated is that of the Iniat. The account given to me of this was that the young men are taken into the bush and excluded from all intercourse with the people in the village. They are attended by the members of the society, and are fed with pork, shark, turtle, dog, and other articles of food, but after the initiation ceremonies are completed they are never allowed to eat any of those articles for the rest of their life. I think that in the case of some of the older members these prohibitions are not always observed, but they are all very strict indeed against defiling themselves with eating pork or touching any vessel in which it has been cooked. They even keep a separate water-bottle to guard against any infection which they might get by drinking out of a bottle from which a pork-eater had previously drunk. The members of the society undoubtedly exercise a very great influence, but it is somewhat difficult to find out in what manner this is exerted. They seem to be regarded generally as possessing great powers of witchcraft, and are generally applied to when any one wishes that power to be exercised on an enemy. I have in my possession one of the stones used by them. It is in the shape of a large mushroom. The top is painted in sections of white and red, and the information given me as to its use was that when a noted member of the craft was asked to exercise his powers of magic and was supplied with something belonging to the intended victim, especially something which he had touched with his lips, he would place this in a hole in which he had previously planted some spear-heads or pointed pieces of bamboo, together with some poisonous plants. He would then make his incantations, cover the hole, and put this sacred stone on the top to press the whole down. The belief was that so long as that stone remained the victim would grow weaker and weaker and would finally die; but if on hearing that this magic was being exercised against him he paid sufficient *diwara* to have it removed, then the stone would be taken away, and the article belonging to him would be returned as a proof that the spell was removed, and he would make a rapid recovery.

I was anxious to secure further information with regard to this society, and therefore wrote to the Rev. H. Fellmann of New Britain, from whom I received the following:—

1. The term Igiet or Igiat is used as a designation for a certain secret club or society in the Bismarck Archipelago. The individual members, and also the images which play an important *rôle* in the workings of the institution, constitute the society. On the so-called north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula from Cape Stephens to Port Webber the word *moramoro* is applied to the same thing. Persons not initiated are called *a mana*.

2. The Igiet, with its special characteristics, exists on the northern part of the Gazelle Peninsula, and is especially strong on the north coast and in the Neu Lauenburg (Duke of York) group. In other parts of the Archipelago other institutions, more or less resembling the Igiet, take its place.

3. It is almost impossible to get any authoritative and all-round accepted statements as to the original source of this institution. Even its old members and propagators seem to know nothing definite about it. There is no fixed and uniform tradition. The people of the Blanche Bay speak of the inland district Vunakokor as *matana Igiet* (place of origin of the Igiet), and natives there say it was created simultaneously with man. But we have also heard of a native in the Raluana district who is said to have maintained that the *Kaia* (great spirit) had taught him all about the Igiet. He first knocked him down to make him unconscious, dragged him then into his cave, and instructed his spirit. A former leader of an Igiet club told us that the following story about the origin of the institution had come to him from the Neu Lauenburg (Duke of York) group:—

A man and his wife got up once early in the morning, pulled their canoe out into the sea, and went fishing. They left their little boy asleep in the hut, and when he awoke and did not see his parents he stepped out and cried as he was walking along the beach in search of them. He saw then a small, strange stone on the ground, but when he attempted to pick it up lightning shot out from it. So for a while he stood quietly gazing at it. He then stretched forth his hand again, and succeeded this time in taking it up, and, wrapping it up in the leaves of the *talia* (*Terminalia litoralis*), placed it under his armpit. Going along farther, he met a man named Marmarpi, and both together went into the bush and came upon a taro plantation. They pulled out some taro, and with this and some firewood they returned to the beach and made a fire to cook the taro. The boy kept his stone all the while hid in his armpit. The fire and the smoke rose, covering from time to time the boy, and in one of those moments Marmarpi opened his mouth to swallow him. But the boy turned quickly aside and asked Marmarpi, "What are you doing? What is this?" and the latter would reply, "The smoke is hurting us." When the smoke enveloped the boy again, Marmarpi made another attempt, but the boy struck him that time with his stone from under his arm and split his head. He then took up the body and threw it into the fire, and there was a great smell of cooked meat. After this the boy bathed, and sat on the branch of a tree called *vutug* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), and soon saw his father and mother coming searching for him. When they noticed the smell they thought their boy had perished in the fire, and felt very uneasy; but he jumped down from the tree, and they were at rest. He then went and saw what they had in their canoe, and picked out some of the fishes and made them *tabu* for his father and himself, and told his mother to cook one for herself near the bush, and the remainder for the people in the village.

He then told his father secretly all about the stone with which he had killed Marmarpi, and his father paid him for this new thing. After the people heard that Marmarpi had perished, they assembled together and paid the boy, because Marmarpi had slain several of their children before. Later on they brought him more shell-money (*tambu*), and he went with them into the bush, where they put up a house and hid there. He called them his *kalamana* (novices). Three months they stopped in the bush, the fourth they went forth and received *tabu* from the people. They were not allowed to eat fowl, but by and by they had a feast, and they were allowed to eat fowl again, and were not called *kalamana* any more, but *malem* (knowing ones).

4. There are many Igiet associations called *Vuna Igiet*, which, though the same principle runs through them all, differ much in minor matters, and show a local colouring with local characteristics.

The head of an Igiet society is the *Tena Kikiuwana*, also called *Tena wana na to*, *Tena auvai*, or *Tena e maqit.* He is generally the *Tena papait*, or wizard, who is called upon in cases of sickness, and whose witchcraft, which is much believed in, seems to have its seat to a large extent in the Igiet institution. The Kikiuwana is above the ordinary member; he is practically the owner of the Igiet and its secrets, possessing the knowledge and power to control the spirits, to appease them when offended, to cause them to be offended, and to destroy the life of an enemy by entering into and using an animal as destroying agent. The Kikiuwana in producing these results employs spraying with lime, eating the ginger plant (*Zingebir zerumbet*), and certain prayers (charms) called *niarig*. His office and his knowledge are generally transferred to his nephew, sometimes to his son or brother. For a certain amount of shell-money the secrets are sold also to a stranger, who receives the necessary instruction.

The members of the club assemble in a secret spot called *marawot*. Persons not initiated are strictly prohibited to visit this place, and nothing less than death is said to be the punishment inflicted by the spirits on the transgressor and intruder.

A special division on the *marawot* is the *uwai*, in which certain images are placed. This part is only visited by the Kikiuwana. The images, called Igiet or Tabataba, are made of stone or wood, roughly cut or carved, and painted. Sometimes it is only a stone in its natural shape dug out of the ground, which is looked at with superstition. Mostly the images bear human forms, that of a man or a woman, or they represent animals, as a pig, an iguana, an alligator, or a shark, or certain birds. They seem to be divided into classes which are named Tamalemar, Taulai, and Kalawuar. These images are believed to be the seat of destructive spirits, and are looked upon with superstitious dread. As mentioned above, the Kikiuwana, however, claims the power to be able to control them. On the occasion of greater festivities the Igiets of several *marawots* are brought together and shown to new members.

By means of a payment of about 10 fathoms of shell-money (*tambu*) and a fowl a person may become initiated. A number of young men are generally initiated at the same time on a specially appointed day, when several ceremonies take place.

The Kikiuwana has first of all to make the *babat*, a charm that is to prevent any harm befalling the novices entering the *marawot* for the first time. The latter have to chew ginger, and must also hold the ginger plant in their hands and put it round their necks. The Kikiuwana paints them then with chewed ginger and lime, and blows it from his mouth against them, and also towards the Tabatabas in the *uwai*. They may then see without any danger the Tabatabas and enter the sacred grounds. The second part of the ceremony takes place at a later date in connection with a greater gathering, when a new name is given to the novices, hitherto called *kalamana*, to make the initiation complete. The Kikiuwana takes hold of the stem of a certain species of a plant called *taqete*, while the novice has to take hold of its long, red leaves. The Kikiuwana then pulls, drawing the leaves thereby through the hand of the novice, and while making a certain movement with the plant says, "So and so (pronouncing the name) is staying here," and "So and so (giving the new name) is to go out." Such a person is then a fully accredited member and not *a kalamana* any more. He is an Igiet once for all, and cannot be expelled.

The members of the Igiet are prohibited from partaking of certain kinds of food, such as pork, shark, turtle, wallaby, cuttle-fish, cassowary, and some other birds, alligator, etc. They are *tabu* for them, especially for the novices. Old members are said to be less strict in observing the *tabu*, though most scrupulous care is always taken not to touch or taste pork. Igiet members therefore keep for themselves a special kind of water-bottle so as not to defile themselves by drinking out of one which has been used by a pork-eater, lest they should be punished for it with death.[1] It seems to me [Mr. Fellmann] that the *tabu* is put on those animals which are made use of by the spirits of the Tabatabas as destroying agents.

There is a good deal of dancing done on the *marawot*, and some of the dances are of an obscene nature, like the *winama* and the *timul.* The performance of these causes much laughter among the onlookers, and if done before the novices for the first time, is called *a warawaqira*, viz., "the making to see." I do not believe that, as has been suggested, any sodomy is connected with these dances, or is an integral part of the Igiet institution.

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[1] Some of these facts have already been mentioned by me, but I deem it best to give Mr. Fellmann's account intact.

Igiet members who are sick are carried to the *marawot*, where a few ceremonies are gone through, and leaves of certain bushes are spread, on which the sick person is laid to get well. The custom is called *a warawaba* (the laying down). The body of deceased members are also often taken to the *marawot* before they are buried.

The sacred places are said to have existed from time immemorial. It is very difficult to say what are the objects, uses, and aims of the institution, as the natives themselves cannot give any satisfactory explanation. After many vain and unsuccessful investigations I venture to state my opinion that the institution represents a society which claims the monopoly of certain kinds of witchcraft. Witchcraft appears to be the most important factor of it, though other superstitions and sports are associated with it.

The Igiet institution has lost much of its power lately, and some time ago the Imperial German Government prohibited the secret meetings of the Igiet people on the *marawot*, as they might contain and shelter a dangerous element to the white community, it having been proved that the plans to murder and make war in the late Mrs. Wolff's case were concocted in these Igiet meetings on the *marawot.*

Count Graf v. Pfiel gives an interesting account of some of the proceedings of this society in the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute, published November 1897, but gives the name *marawot* to a feast and dance. It is, I think, more probable that the *marawot* is the sacred ground of the Iniat Society, as *tareu* is of the Dukduk, and that the dance which the Count saw was one which had its origin in the *marawot* and was conducted by members of the society.

There seem to be several ceremonies connected with this stage of life. These are called *malira*, and in at least two of them the young men appear to be called by new names, though I do not think that they always retain them. One of the *malira* is called Nukuna, and unlike some of the other *maliras*, does not appear to belong to any one particular chief. When they decide to have this affair they first select the place, and this they call *bag na malira.* They then paint their bodies (*wetun* and *welimu*). Then they decide (*weputa*) who is to take part. Each man selects (*latai*) the one he wants to be initiated. Some choose one and some two. After this, six months or perhaps a year are spent in planting food. They make all the nuts sacred (*waporoporo bat a lama*), and make plantations of yams and other food. Then a large house is built, which they call *ruma na weraruk.* This is built very high and is also of great length. Ladders are placed inside the house, and each rafter and post (*toro ma laulau*) has a mark on it and also a figure painted for each boy so that each has his own place. They then fix the day on which the initiation ceremonies (*lu wewaruk*) are to commence. The neophytes, who are called *tena wanas*, are all sent to bathe, whilst those who are fully-initiated (*tena agagara*) hide themselves by the side of the road along which the boys are to pass on returning. They rush out suddenly, yelling and shouting, and chase the boys into the house and then climb on the top of the house and shake it so as to frighten them. After the boys become *tena maul*, which is the next step in this society, they go and *agagara*, that is, perform the charms which have been taught them. Each one has some appropriate leaves in his hand. These are generally two handfuls of the ginger plant. Each one then buries the *tiban* (leaf in which the spell is put) which contains the curse, and during this operation they stamp and shout with all their might. As each finishes he rushes into the house (*pukurai*), goes up on the top, shakes the house, and repeats his *agagara* out loud. They then stand together in a square inside the house, and go outside one by one, as some one of the old past masters calls them, and each one has a new name given to him. They do not, however, always keep it. Then they chew (*mama*) the betel-nut, and go to their homes (*wan weran*), where a new house is built for each. Sweet-smelling leaves and flowers are provided every day and tied about the houses. The houses are so made that they cannot lie down to sleep but can only recline. They drink nuts only; no fire is allowed; no one goes to the house; and no woman or *tena wana* can go near to it. No intercourse is allowed with the wife; water to wash only is taken to them every day. This continues for five or six months. Then, that the boys should grow well, fat, and strong, plenty of food is supplied to them. A flute and drums are given that they may blow and beat them to amuse themselves. Plaited rings (*tobo*) are tied around their legs and arms to measure how fat they are getting. Then they sun leaves, prepare flax, and make it red, get young nut and mix charcoal in it and put it away. For what purpose this is done I do not know, but probably in preparation for the feast and dances when they are taken out (*waturapat*), and presents made to them.

The New Britain people believe in friendly sprites or fairies who live around and about them, and that these sprites are often anxious to do good to those lucky mortals into whose bodies they can be persuaded to enter. I have been told of many who have been instructed in wonderful charms by which they have made lots of *diwara*; of others again who, when possessed by these sprites, have been taught grand dances by which they also have got lots of *diwara* by selling them again. When the people have long been talking about them, some chief goes, say, to Makada to buy the *malira*. He returns with a lot of initiated men who are to teach the spell and conduct all the ceremonies. These professors start away into the bush and begin their preparation by erecting a small house in some retired spot. They then collect a lot of bitter, acrid leaves, including several kinds of acrid arum, the bark of some trees, and the fruit of a creeping vine. Small portions of these all ready mixed are placed on leaves or nut-leaf baskets, and near each portion is a garland or necklace of fancy leaves. Whilst this is going on the neophytes are engaged in preparing their *diwara* to pay for their initiation. This, as also every other transaction into which *diwara* enters—and it enters into all that I have ever heard of—is conducted by regular rules of borrowing and lending and receiving interest. One lad has 10 fathoms, which he divides out, say, to ten people. They use this, and some time afterwards each man pays it to him again with a small piece as interest. He in turn, though lending to others, borrows perhaps his own share from some one else and pays him interest for it. They seem to rejoice with a great joy at any chance of adding to their stores of *diwara*. The preparations are now finished, the leaf portions are all placed in rows, and the lads all march in. Each lad or man has a small piece of *diwara* (20 shells, *takai nara*, that is, a complete being) tied to end of rib of cocoa-nut leaflet (*noko*), and another piece about 2 feet long; the leader, generally a chief's son, has a longer length. They march up to the first basket and each man sticks the *noko* into the ground and lays his piece of *diwara* on the heap. They then all march round and take their places, each man opposite to one of the leaf portions and also opposite to one of the initiated, the leaf portion being thus between the two. Then they put on their garlands and receive exhortations from the initiated, encouraging them to be strong, to eat manfully, not to spit it out or vomit, to nerve themselves up to bear all as men. Then at a given signal each of the initiated seizes one of the leaf portions, and at another signal all thrust them at the same time into the mouths of the uninitiated and command them to eat. This portion is intensely bitter and acrid, but most of them manage to eat it. The effect differs on different individuals, but most of the people become sick, very giddy and delirious. They foam at the mouth, cold sweats ensue with vomiting and great pains in the head and body. Some rush away into the bush, others start and swim away out to sea. Several instances are known where men under the influence of these potions have wandered away across the boundary of another tribe and so, of course, been killed and eaten, thus becoming themselves constituent parts of other people's bodies instead of having a sprite inside their own. The initiated eat these mixtures themselves, and all are on the look-out for the sprite who is to take up his abode in some of them. After this is past and they are somewhat recovered, they return to the lodge again, eat again, and are taught the songs they are to sing. They are not allowed to eat any cooked food at all, as the sprites have a decided objection to anything which has been near a fire. After this an appointment is made for the next ceremony, say, in two or three days' time, and the young men are sent away whilst this is got ready. This, which is called *tabara waba*, meaning giving the food to make delirious or deaf, is conducted in much the same way as the first, except that other kinds of leaves, etc., are used. The same lending out *diwara*, paying, marching round and eating the portions simultaneously, are gone through, and the chief pays another instalment of the purchase-money. The same effects follow, and the half-mad crowd rush out into the bush, shouting, dancing, and raving like madmen. Many of them climb into the large banyan trees and stay there, singing, eating the leaf mixture, and calling out for the sprites to enter them, as they believe that they dwell in or near these banyan trees. During these days no intercourse is allowed with women under any circumstances. After three days they go in procession and exhibit themselves for the first time to the village, some mad or foolish from the effects of the leaves and all pretending to be so. This is called *a igai pat diat.* On this day they eat cooked food, and when they eat the leaf portions they put into each a small piece of cooked food to show that they *gugut marakana ura moina utna*, that is, they are pained (eat) for the first time with cooked food. Any one, however, who has got a sprite in him will not eat the food for fear it will run away (*kala koni*) from him. Cooked food is still to him his *tabuna*, the thing forbidden. Two days afterwards another step is taken called *puak.* The neophytes are sent away into the bush. The initiated dig a large hole, which they line with leaves. Into this cocoa-nuts are first placed, these are covered over with variegated leaves. Food is placed on top of these leaves, and this in turn is covered over with variegated leaves and also leaves painted with characters or marks on them, which, however, do not appear to express any particular meaning. On the top of these again is placed a vine which has been twisted and has had a carved head affixed to it so as to represent a snake. This again is covered up with leaves. The neophytes are brought in and told to uncover the food and eat. Of course the first thing which appears is the snake, of which they are supposed to be very much frightened, and there is a general rush away from it in terror. Some few may be really frightened, but not many. After this they eat a little of the food and drink some of the nuts. They do not, however, eat much for fear the sprite should not enter into them if they did so. Then they repeat all the other matter, marching round, paying *diwara*, eating leaf portions, madness, ranting, shouting, looking for sprites, and procession to the village. If a sprite (*igai*) has, however, entered into any favoured one, he does not go. He is, of course, better employed in the bush, as the sprite is teaching him charms (*malira*), song dances (*kelekele*), and costume dances (*lakara*), which will, of course, be very profitable to him in days to come. Then they go round all houses and collect *diwara* from all who will give, and very few refuse to do so. This is called *wan a uk.* After this is the *lukun* or concluding feast. The neophytes are busy for some time getting ready their ornaments, such as armlets, head-dresses, shells, feathers, red and black paint. These, with a liberal quantity of lime, are all that are necessary for full dress costume. The initiated are divided into two lots, one of which is employed in the bush making the leaf portions, garlands, etc., whilst the others are preparing the *lukun.* They build up cocoa-nut husks in a circle enclosing a small piece of ground. Into this enclosure they first place a printed or painted banana leaf, different kinds of food, cocoa-nuts, and plaited ferns. Then three sticks are stuck in the ground inside the circle and wreaths of fowls' feathers are tied to them and suspended from one to the other. A small house is then made, and in this are placed the leaf portions, printed or painted cane, garlands, and the ornaments already prepared. Then all come in singing and dancing, march round as before, pay *diwara*, and then sit around the *lukun* and eat some of the food, still observing the rule of not eating much. They then dress themselves, eat the leaf portions, make themselves half-mad again, and then away in procession to the village. Here they stand in rows, and the chief who has prepared a great feast pays them. After this they sit and sing and then look on at what the chief does. Much of what follows is also seen at many other important feasts, especially at some of the Dukduk ceremonies. On certain great occasions the chief and all his friends make a great point of displaying their wealth. A stage is erected and on it is placed the skull of some deceased relative, probably that of the brother who has recently died. Around this platform is displayed all the *diwara* and property of the chief and his friends, and probably that also of neighbouring chiefs, who bring their wealth and place it with the general lot for the time being, for which compliment they, of course, expect to be paid. The chief provides betel-nut, lime, and pepper for all, and also food, though Papuan chiefs never indulge in the lavish hospitality of the Eastern Polynesian chiefs. He will then stand up and *ababut*, that is, show off in fighting attitude, will speak and brag, tell of his wealth, of the men he has killed, of the dances, charms, songs, etc., which he has bought, and will also tell of what he intends to do, and then *kilam diat*, that is, make a small present to each chief. After this the other chiefs who are visitors *ababut*, show off, brag and boast of their wealth, their prowess, and what they intend to do. This is a kind of advertisement. One says, "I am going to buy a sacred canoe" (*pidik*); another, "I am going to have a Dukduk," etc. After this the chief calls out for some one to cut down his *buturu*, that is, the small tree on which he has been accustomed to place his offerings to the dead; some chief will accept, and he and his friends rush out and cut down the tree and bear it away. For this he is presented with a pig, 10 fathoms of *diwara*, spears, food, etc., all of which will have to be returned some day or other when that chief is making a feast—of course with interest.

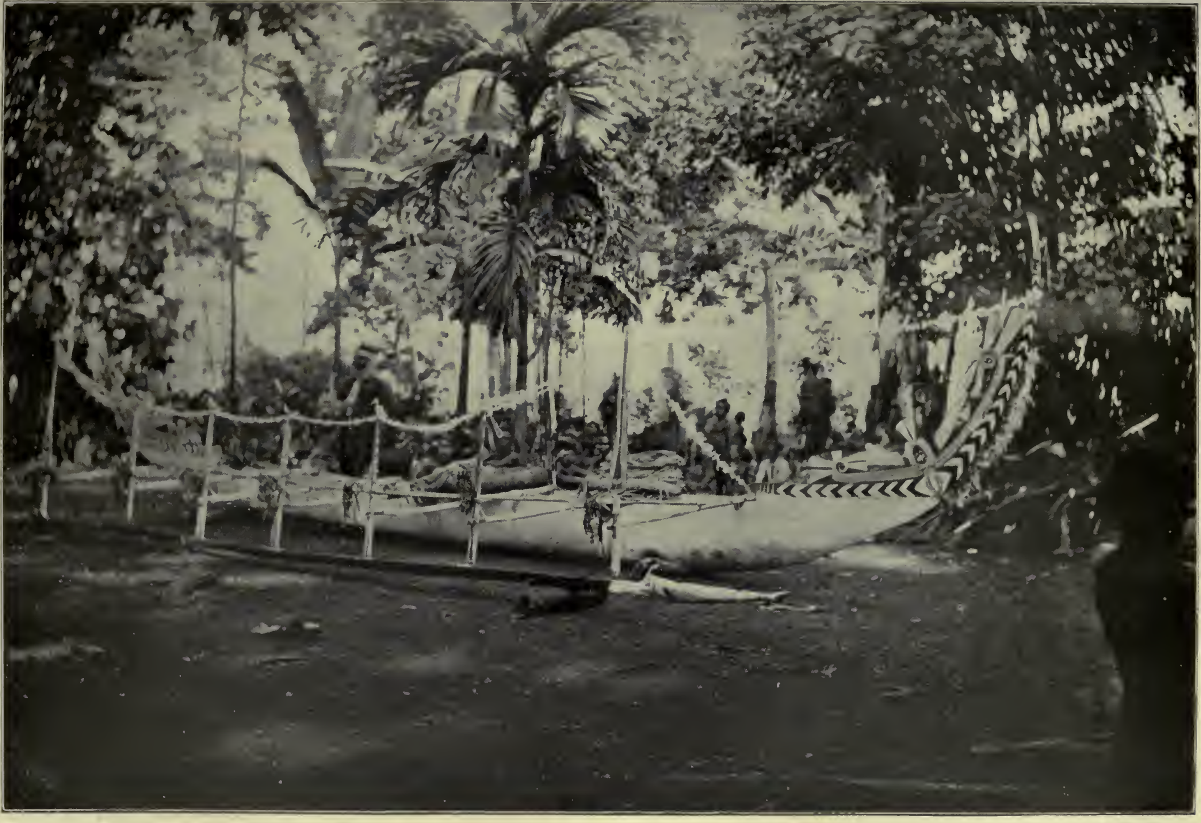
Another *malira* is called a *ir-ra pe*. This is a rite engaged in to teach the young men how to curse the enemies of the tribe, and how to imprecate destruction on them. The old men appoint a day, and then build a house for the *malira* in some quiet place. Then the seeds of two trees, the *tan* and *tamap*, are baked black to make paint. This is rubbed with the hand and then scraped direct from the hand on to cocoa-nut leaflets, and these again placed in a row or rows on split cocoa-nut leaves, each portion of paint having its garland of leaves lying with it. Each of the initiated "owns" one or two of the candidates, that is, he considers them as his and looks after them. They pay him, and later on the name he got at his initiation is given also to them. There is, of course, first the lending and borrowing of *diwara*, the little piece put on the rib of a cocoa-nut leaflet, and the bigger piece carried in the hand; but instead of these being cast in a heap as before, they are taken possession of by the man who "owns" the giver. Then there is the same eating of bitter acrid leaves and plants as before, but they are not as bitter as they were. Then the faces and arms of the neophytes are painted with curious devices, one of which on the arm is called "the arm of a dead body to be cooked." They do not know what significance these marks have, but it is probable that this last means to express the wish that the man who bears it may get the arm of an enemy for his share of the supper. They then put on their garlands of leaves, feathers, head-dresses, and a coronet or brow-band made only of a leaf as yet. There is then a scene of wild excitement and shouting, and all rush down to the village at the command of one old fellow, who roars out some curse or cry to which all respond with a long-drawn "O o ao." They return to the *malira*-house, eat, and then away to the fighting-ground (*kamara*), which is always at the boundaries of the respective villages. The old men then indulge in some heavy cursing, and if they meet the enemy there is a fight at once, but if not they throw down a branch of a tree to mark the distance they have gone over the boundary. The enemy will not cross that branch when they see it for fear of the effects of the spell which may lie behind it. If no fight takes place they all return to the *malira*-house, and the neophytes are taught again how to pray (*papet*), and curse, and another day is appointed.

On the second day the same old custom of borrowing, lending, paying, and eating leaf portions is strictly observed. The old men will take good care that no good old custom by which they can get *diwara* shall ever be set aside. They are ultra-conservatives, and there were no troublesome reformers in New Britain. The old hands have already prepared for the next ceremony. A fire has been lit, and in front of it they have stretched out a large arum leaf on sticks planted in the ground. This leaf has a hole cut out of the middle, and each man, the initiated and the candidates, has to put his hand through the orifice and so project it over the fire. If in doing this the hand should touch (*agilai*), the sides of the hole, fear and trembling comes upon the unlucky individual, for this means that his days are numbered; that in the coming fight he will surely be killed, or that he will soon sicken and die. Should he get his hand through safely there is yet another trial, for should the fire scorch his hand the same ill effects are sure to follow. The people who witness the omen in fact call out at once, "Tolig a winiruana" ("Oh, Tolig is dead for cooking"). After all have gone through this test, one old man prays and curses, then yells out as loud as he can, the others answer and rush down to the beach shouting and dancing. Then, when the result of the test is told, there are loud cries of grief and despair from the relatives of the unlucky fellow whose hands have touched the leaf or been scorched by the fire. They regard him as doomed, and he himself is far from feeling happy. Doomed men, however, often live long, notably in many of these cases, for they take good care to keep as far away from the fight as they possibly can. All the candidates then go back to the *malira*-house, eat and get another lesson in cursing, and then go off to the fighting-ground to put their knowledge to a practical use. One of the old fellows takes a bundle of ginger plants in his hand and binds them round with a vine as tightly as he can, invoking curses at the same time. If they see the enemy this is flung towards them and the fight goes on. If, however, they do not see them, they dig a hole and the old fellow binds the ginger plant again with the vine, invoking a special curse on the foe with every turn of the vine. He prays to the spirit of the man who owned this special *malira*, some old *tebaran* of days gone by, whose name was bought along with the spell. He also invokes the spirit of his brother, father, or uncle, and prays to each and to all that they will put their fingers into the ears of the enemy that they may not hear, that they will cover over their eyes that they may not see, and that their mouths may be shut that they may not be able to cry for help, but that they may fall easy victims to them. Every day at the boundary and every night at the *malira*-house this interesting piece of work is carried on.

Another day is called *a bug wadoko*, literally, the day on which to kill or destroy, so called from a curious custom observed on that day. The day before they are all busy making coronets or brow-bands, for regular coronets are now to be used instead of the single leaf. Food also is prepared. Then at first cock-crowing all are awake, and the dances begin and the noise is greater than ever. All the professors and owners of different *malira* in the friendly towns near come together, and each lot dances its peculiar dance. The neophytes have previously obtained each of them a fine fowl as healthy and strong as they can possibly get. Each man then gives his fowl to the initiated person who "owns" him. Before it is quite light, all march round shouting and stamping with their feet, and each *tena maul* (fully initiated) holds the fowl of his *tena wanai* (apprentice) in his hand by the legs and jerks it out at arm's length in the air, keeping time with stamping of the feet. At daylight they still keep on jerking the fowls, but have now regular singing instead of the stamping. If a fowl dies soon the man who owns it rejoices greatly, for it is a good omen, but there is great weeping and wailing when any obstinate fowl clings on to life. The unfortunate *tena wanai* and his friends all believe most firmly that he will surely be killed in the fight, or that some other calamity will soon happen and he will die. I laughed at my informant, but he at once reminded me of a lad whose fowl would not die for a long time even after the man who was jerking it had pulled the head off in his rage. "Now, did not that lad die?" he asked. "Don't you remember his death?" "Yes," I replied; "but that lad died of ulcerous sores which most certainly caused his death." "Yes, but who caused the sores, and why did his fowl take such a lot of killing? And then again didn't the *tena maul* who jerked his fowl soon die? Didn't —— shoot him, and didn't we all say that the omen was fulfilled? True it was, for the man died."

After the fowls are dead, they eat, dance, go away and cook the fowls with cocoa-nut juice and taro, etc. After this there is a great finishing-up day. Every one bathes and "dresses" himself up with paint, lime, and perhaps a few leaf garlands. A house has been already made of green cocoa-nut leaves called the *ruma na wewaruk*, the house of entrance (in and out). The neophytes are sent away to bathe, and they then start for the house accompanied by their friends, singing and shouting. A lot of the members of different *maliras* are hiding along the road, and as the company comes up they start up singing and shouting and join in the procession. When they come to the house the neophytes are put inside and all the rest dance and shout around it on the outside. Then an old man *agaras* them. What this means is not clear, as *agagara* generally means an imprecation. After this is finished one old man goes up and calls out the name of each. If one is named Tolig, he calls, "Tolig, Tolig, listen to me, I say. Tolig, you are to stop in that house, but let Taupira come out." This means that Taupira is to be Tolig's new name. Taupira is the name of the man who owned Tolig, that is, who looked after him, and whom he paid. Sometimes this new name is used, but often it is dropped, and Tolig still uses the old name except when he comes to officiate as a professor himself some other day. As Tolig, or rather Taupira, comes out of the house in answer to the call, the old fellow aforementioned gives him the end of a dracæna leaf of which he holds the stem, and then he leads him round a living dracæna and then lets him go. After all are out of the house any women or girls who wish to have a new name go in and are called out and named by the old men aforesaid. After this they go down to the *malira*-house again, divide out food to professors of other charms who are present, dance, eat a lot of food, and now the young men know how to curse their foes, and can bury ginger plants and hurl imprecations at their foes with the same dreadful effects as their seniors have already done.

There was also an institution the principal features of which were the building and ornamentation of a kind of sacred canoe called the *pidik.* Very little appears to be known of this, and I have not got any definite account of it. The illustration accompanying this will give some idea of the canoe, but I have never heard of one being made of late years. The one which I saw was in 1878, and it certainly caused a great sensation in Duke of York. While some of the ceremonies were going on the strictest silence was enforced. No one was allowed to shout or speak above a whisper, and no chopping or anything which would make a noise was allowed. No one was allowed to leave his house or grounds, and the stillness was really oppressive as I walked through the village. On the day on which the ceremonies were completed there was great excitement in the village.



SACRED CANOE (PIDIK), DUKE OF YORK ISLAND, NEW BRITAIN.

The canoe was brought in state from the beach laden with *diwara*, and with Topulu, the principal chief, standing up in the canoe, which was carried on the shoulders of a number of men amid great excitement. The Dukduks and all the people came in procession with weapons poised and keeping regular time to the beat of the drum until they all mixed together in a great mob, going round and round the place where the canoe was deposited in a state of furious excitement and confusion. The canoe was afterwards taken to all the surrounding villages, and on each occasion some of the Dukduks were seated in it. Each of the villages visited was expected to make presents of *diwara*. After all the villages had been visited, I think the canoe was sold to some neighbouring chief, who would again carry on the process of begging *diwara*.

About this period in a young man's life there is a custom often carried out which, I think, is the result of a very natural desire on the part of a father that his son should in some way or other receive a portion of the family wealth. The son is, of course, of a different class from the father, and the old man probably fears that in the event of his death his brothers and relatives of his own class may not give any of his property to his own children, and so he endeavours to provide for them as far as he can whilst living. He exhibits, however, considerable wisdom by making the young man himself do his share, and so he first directs his son to go away from him, to work elsewhere, and to make a large plantation for himself. This the young man does, and in addition he manages to get some food, and with this he pays some lads to help him with his plantation. This they do, not only from a feeling of comradeship, but also because they themselves may require the same assistance in due time. As soon as the plantation of food is mature the young man sells it and obtains some *diwara*, and then he probably makes another plantation, until finally he acquires a little money of his own. Then the father summons all his friends together, and the young man, after giving them first some areca nut and betel pepper to chew, divides amongst them all his hard-earned money, leaving himself absolutely without any. I cannot say penniless because they have no pennies, but without any *diwara*. The distribution of this is often accompanied with a great deal of worldly wisdom, that is, the young man will give the most *diwara* to his most wealthy relative, and he does this with a very wise object in view. Some months afterwards all the relatives gather together again, and then each one gives back to the young man the *diwara* which he had given him, and an equal quantity in addition. If, for instance, the young man gave 20 fathoms to a well-to-do "uncle," he would get 40 fathoms in return; and if 5 fathoms were given to a "cousin," he would repay it by giving 10 fathoms, and so the young man gets a start in life. The occasion would probably also be taken advantage of by some of his chums who might wish to show their esteem. One of them, for instance, would bring a fine fish and say to the young fellow, "I will sell my fish for 2 fathoms, and I want you to buy it." The young man would give him 2 fathoms, and say at the same time, "Take your fish also and eat it." The lad would take it, and would soon come back and give the young man 4 fathoms, so that he gained 2 fathoms by his politeness. There is really something very nice and interesting in these little courtesies amongst such a people. After this the young man's father will begin to think about getting the young fellow married.

CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE—*continued*

In Samoa, so far as I know, there were none of the clubs or secret societies which constitute such an important part of a Melanesian life. This, I think, shows that the changes caused by the intermixture of the races of Indonesia must have taken place a long time previous to the expulsion or emigration of the brown races from that region. The exogamous classes had entirely passed away, and almost the only trace of their previous existence was found in the semi-sacred relationship of the sister and the sister's children to the brother and his children. Descent through the father had replaced that of the purely matriarchal line, though descent through the mother was still an important consideration, especially in the families of chiefs. The decay of the exogamous system and the substitution of consanguinity only as a prohibition of marriage probably caused also the gradual abandonment of the boys' clubs and the separation of the boys from the family life, though the young men still often sleep together in the large house of the village. At all events, the principal preparation in Samoa for a young man taking his part as an adult was that he should be tattooed. The origin of this custom is traced to two of their goddesses called Taema and Tilafainga, who are stated to have come from Fiji. The first story given me by my informant of the origin of tattooing does not appear to deal with the operation itself, but gives the story of the origin of the goddesses who were worshipped by the tattooers as the presiding deities of their craft. This is as follows:—

There was a woman called Faga; she brought forth a daughter whose name was Papa. Her vagina was imperforate. She was very beautiful, and many suitors desired her, but afterwards they divorced her. Then she married another chief, whose name was Olomatua. The chief Olomatua felt that she was imperforate; but he did not divorce her, because great was his desire for the beautiful woman. One day the chief said to Papa, "Let us go and work to-day." They went to work, and when they had finished, they rested. Then they bathed in the bathing-place. They entered their house, and lay down, and the woman slept soundly. The chief examined the woman, and thought of a plan. He took a shark's tooth and made an incision in his wife's body, and left the shark's tooth in. Lo, it was said that the shark's tooth was changed into the private parts of the woman. The chief was rejoiced at the success of his plan. After that the woman was with child, and brought forth a son, called Ulufanuasesee. His father, the chief Aeasisifo, was of the conquered party. Aeasasae was of the victorious party. Aeasisifo was trodden down, so Ulufanuasesee ran away, because his father Aeasisifo was conquered. Ulufanuasesee ran to Falelatai and dwelt in the mountain and was settled there. Ulufanuasesee was always gliding on the surf at Mauu. That was his employment, to glide on the waves. He saw the waves of Fagaiofu were breaking, so he went there to glide on them. He left his ti-leaf girdle and the band of his head-dress on the beach while he was gliding on the surf. A lady called Sinalalofutu and her maidens came to the place. The lady saw Ulufanuasesee and she wished to have him for her husband. She took his leaf-girdle and his bandage and hid them away.

Ulufanuasesee could not find the things, so he said, "Lady, don't be offended, has any one seen the things belonging to me?" The lady said, "Chief, where did you leave the things? we don't know." She had concealed them. Again the chief asked, "Lady, have you seen my things? be quick, I want to go." Then she showed him his girdle and his head-band; and the lady said to him, "Chief, what do you think, shall we go inland and drink?" They went and had a long conversation together, Sinalalofutu and Ulufanuasesee. She said, "What say you, shall we live together? I will live with you." So the chief lived with her and divorced his other wife. Sinalalofutu became with child, and she brought forth twin girls, but they were not separated, but were joined together by their backs. Their names were Ulu and Ona. Ulu ma Ona were so called from a water which sprang out of a bread-fruit tree which overflowed and ran down into the sea. From hence the names were derived. After many months—the years were not known—the girls had grown up. On a certain day the girls said to their family, "When any of our family return from work, let them first give warning and then throw down the firewood, lest we should be startled, for we are going to sleep." They slept. The family returned, and they gave no warning, but threw down the firewood. The girls were startled in their sleep, and rushed from the house, each one by a separate door. The door-post separated their bodies, so that they were parted asunder. They left that land. Their father cried out, "I am of the conquered party." This is the tale of the angry departure of Ulu and Ona. They left their country and swam out to sea. They reached Tutuila and dwelt there. One night a chief came to them called Moamoaniua. He lived in the forest. When he visited the ladies, he did not come when there was a light. They said to him, "Come when there is a light." He answered, "I am not able, my eyes are weak and they are dazzled by the firelight." They were not weak, he lied to the ladies through shame, because his nose was very large, like a cockscomb. That's how it was that he dwelt in the forest, that no one might see him. They spread their mats and lay down, and the chief slept between them in the middle, first turning to one and then to the other. Moamoaniua told the women, "Do you awake when the cocks crow, and wake me up, and I will go off in the dark lest my eyes should be dazzled by the sun." The cocks crew, and the women woke up the chief, saying, "Chief, awake." He started up and went off alone to the forest. Thus he did every day for many days. Both the women were in the family way by the chief, and as yet they had not seen him, because he went away in the dark. Then one said to the other, "What do you think? Here we are near our time to bring forth and we have not seen what the chief is like." Another night the chief came, and the women sported with him so as to make him sleep soundly. The chief went to sleep and slept soundly. When it was day the women opened the house, each one her end. The sun came into the house. Then the women awoke the chief, saying, "Moamoaniua, wake up, 'tis daylight." The chief started up, and they saw his nose. He ran off to the forest, and the women burst out laughing, saying, "He is a spirit! he is a spirit!" Then they fled, and left that country, and swam out to sea when they knew he was a god. They swam between Tutuila and Manua, and they both brought forth in the water. They deserted their children; and they were carried by the current to Aleipata. It was said that they became gods. The women swam on, and presently they saw a lump of light excrements, and one of the women said, "That shall be my name." The other said, "What?" She said, "Taema." Then they came across a sprit of a sail floating. Then they swam and the sprit twisted about, and the other said, "That shall be my name." "What?" "Tilafaiga."[1]

He then goes on to state as follows:—

It is said that this tattooing sprang from Fiji, but the custom was that the men should not be tattooed, but only women should be tattooed in Fiji. Thus came the message to this Samoa that only women should be tattooed, but not on any account the men. Then there came two people here in a boat, and they were directed to sing the instructions that they were bringing, lest they should forget the message they were bringing to this land of Samoa. On their way they saw a large shell-fish, the clam, and then they wished to get hold of the clam that they might eat it. Then one of them said to the other, "Now, let it be your part, sir, to continue singing lest the message should be forgotten. You keep on singing that message, and I will dive to get our shell-fish and bring it up that we might eat." Then the other replied, "All right." Then the one man dived below and forgot all about the song. Now, behold the man who remained in the boat also forgot the song in his excitement whilst watching his comrade diving, and he began to sing, "Leave the women alone, but tattoo the men." It was thus that he forgot the message, which was, "Leave alone the men, and tattoo the women." Then the man who was diving came up from below with the shell-fish, and they ate it together and were satisfied. Afterwards the man that had dived said to the other, "What about our song, lest it should be forgotten?" And the other replied, "Oh yes, let us sing it; I remember it; it is, Leave the women alone, and tattoo the men." Behold the mistake which that man made because he was so much concerned about eating the shell-fish, and that is the reason why men are now tattooed, though the command was that only the women should be tattooed. This, sir, is the opinion here that tattooing sprang from Fiji, and I suppose that it was the custom in Fiji formerly only to tattoo women.

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[1] The story, which is a long one, then gives an account of the wanderings of these goddesses, and how they gave the art to several families.

That is the opinion which is generally held. I have seen several accounts of the operation, and have some of my own, but one given by Mr. W. T. Pritchard in his book on Polynesian Reminiscences is the best one which I have seen. Before I quote this, however, I may mention that a patch called the bat's wing is done about the navel when they are lads, and this is finished when they become young men. Mr. Pritchard's account of the operation is as follows :—

> A young chief is generally tattooed at about the age of eighteen, and when the time for the operation is come all the lads of his tribe, perhaps twenty in number, from the age of fourteen and upwards, prepare to join him. Tattooing is a regular and honourable profession, and the operator ranks as a *matai*—a master or professor. When application is made for the services of a *matai*, the application is always accompanied by a present of fine mats or *toga* (*tonga*), the acceptance of which is the sealing of the contract. A house is set apart for the performance of the operation. The chief's son takes precedence, the others following, usually according to tribal rank, and each having but a small portion of his body tattooed at a time. When all is ready, and the operation is about to commence, more fine mats are presented, or perhaps a new canoe, and food is daily supplied by the friends of the youths. The party of operators consist of the *matai*, and five or six assistants, whose duty it is, with pieces of soft white *masi*, to wipe away the blood as it oozes out of the skin under the manipulation of the *matai*. A young woman, generally a relative of the youth operated upon, sits cross-legged on a seat, on whose lap the young man places his head, and, stretching himself out at full length, three or four more young women hold his legs and sing, to drown his groans as he writhes under the laceration of the instruments. It is, however, held a want of courage and hardihood to give way to groans, though I have heard some lads literally yell with the pain. When about as much as the palm of one's hand is done, which occupies upwards of an hour, the lad rises, and another takes his place, and in this way five or six subjects may be operated upon in a day, sometimes not so many. Each lad's turn comes round once a week, according to the number of the party; and, until the skin is thoroughly healed, they look most hideous objects, hobbling about in every variety of contortions, and fanning off the flies with little white switches of *masi*.

If the *matai* is dissatisfied with the property presented, he delays the completion of the design. An unfinished *tatua*, as it is called, being considered very disreputable, the friends of the youths are quick to take the hint and hunt up more property. When at length he is satisfied, the *matai* gives the finishing touch, for which again he receives another payment. Altogether, what with the payments in fine mats, native cloths, and the food consumed during the three or four months of the process, tattooing is an expensive affair. When it is all over and the youths thoroughly healed, a grand dance is got up on the first available pretext to display the tattooing, when the admiration of the fair sex is unsparingly bestowed. And this is the great reward, long and anxiously looked forward to by the youths as they smart under the hands of the *matai*. The instruments used are made of human bones (*os ilium*), and are generally five in number, to suit the various patterns in the design, which is most elaborate. They vary from the eighth of an inch to an inch in width, all being the same length, about an inch and a half, and attached to reed handles about six inches long: in shape they look like so many diminutive carpenters' adzes, the edges being serrated like a fine-tooth comb. A little mallet is used to tap the instruments, which is held in a particular manner under the thumb and over the forefinger. The rapidity with which the *matai* works his fingers, the precision with which he moves the instruments and punctures exactly the right spot, and the regularity of the tapping with the mallet, are extraordinary. The mixture used to impregnate the skin and produce the blue-toned colour is made from lamp-black, procured by burning the nut of the *lama* (*Aleurites moluccana*), and water. Into this the instrument is dipped every few moments, and with every tap of the mallet it passes into the skin. The design or pattern of the tattooing is in the main alike throughout the group, though certain districts have what may be called coats of arms in addition—some animal usually, which serves to distinguish a man when slain in battle—and each generation has some particular trifling variation. Instances occur, though rarely, where a lad becomes frightened and refuses to have the tattooing finished, in which case he becomes the butt of the jokes and taunts of his own sex, and the object of the jeers and ridicule of the other.

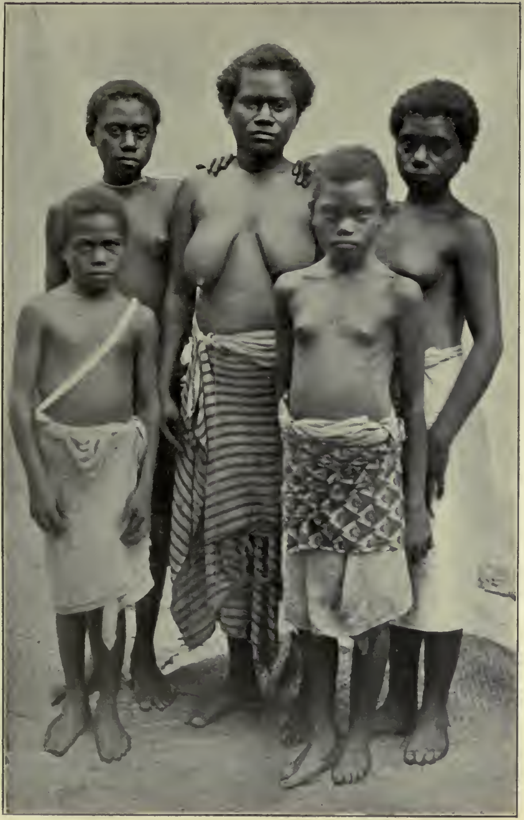
The amount of property which is paid depends very much upon the status of the young chief who has to be tattooed; in one case at least 100 fine mats were given and large quantities of native cloth. This was nearly all given by the family of the chief, for the young men who were tattooed with him paid very little indeed. Underlying the whole was the idea that they were sharing in the pain of the young chief who was being tattooed. If the practice were ever connected with worship in any way, the memory of such connection is lost. It is simply regarded as an indispensable sign of manhood, and the practice is very rarely discontinued, notwithstanding that the tattooing is now mostly concealed by the cloth which the people now wear. There is no more variation in the tattooing than that one workman makes the marks on the back somewhat deeper than another, but all are on the same symmetrical pattern, which commences with the navel and reaches to the knee. The design is of a stereotyped plan, and is first marked on the body with charcoal; only black pigment is used in the process of tattooing.

Women ornament their bodies with cicatrices raised by the *moxa*.

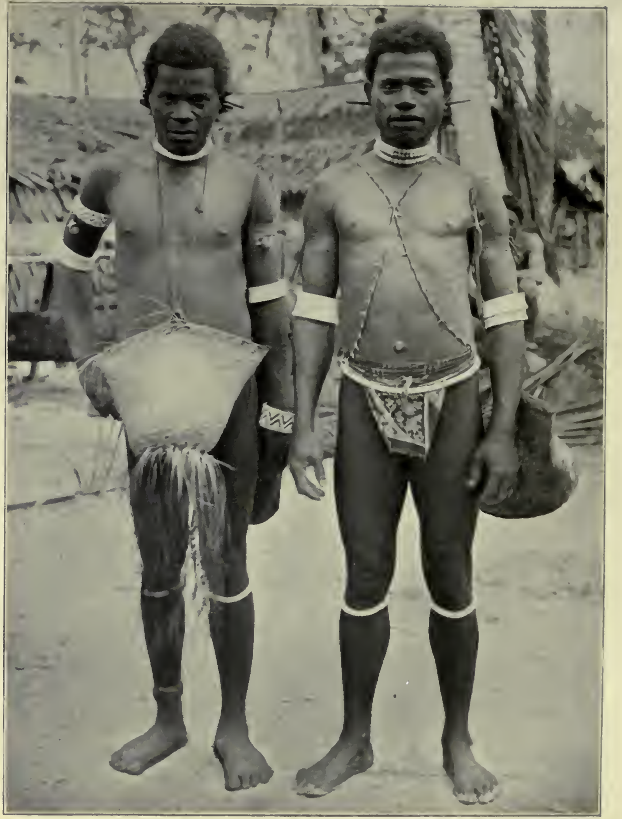
In Fiji the introduction of a young chief to the duties and privileges of manhood was a much more serious matter. Dr. Berthold Seemann gives the following account of the custom. In the case of the young man in question, Dr. Seemann and his party were enabled to prevent the custom from being observed by the presentation of gifts and the influence of the British Consul.

We were struck with the fact that all the young lads were in a state of absolute nudity, and, on inquiry, learned that preparations were being made to celebrate the introduction of Kuruduadua's eldest son into manhood, and that, until then, neither the young chieftain nor his playmates could assume the scanty clothing peculiar to the Fijians. A rebellious town, consisting of about 500 people, was destined to be sacrificed on the occasion. When the preparations for the feast were concluded, and the day for the ceremony appointed, Kuruduadua and his whole tribe were to make a rush upon the town, and club the inhabitants indiscriminately. The bodies were then to be piled into one heap, and on the top of all a living slave would lie on his back. The young chief would then mount the horrid scaffold, standing upright on the chest of the slave, and holding in his uplifted hands an immense club or gun. The priests would invoke their gods, and commit the future warrior to their especial protection, praying that he might kill all the enemies of the tribe, and never be beaten in battle, a cheer and a shout from the assembled multitude concluding the prayer. Two uncles of the boy were then to mount the human pile, and to invest him with the *malo* or girdle of snow-white *tapa*, the multitude again calling on their deities to make him a great conqueror, and a terror to all who breathe enmity to Navu. The *malo* for the occasion would be perhaps 200 yards long and 6 or 8 inches wide. When wound round the body the lad would hardly be perceivable, and no one but an uncle could divest him of it.

In New Britain both sexes are tattooed, but not to any very great extent. The pigment used is lampblack collected by burning gum which exudes from the tree called the *tamap*. I have unfortunately very



Girls, Duke of York Island, New Britain.



Young Men of Gaudalcanar, Solomon Islands.

little information respecting this matter except that the tattooing is done in secret, and the only answer which I could get to the question, "Why do you tattoo?" was that it was done because the women did not like an untattooed man and the men did not like a woman who was not tattooed. I do not know whether the marks represent the class relationships of the people, but I think not. Tattooing is not considered indispensable as a sign of manhood in New Britain, nor is it in any way connected with pagan worship.

In some parts of New Britain and other parts of Melanesia the young women have to undergo a certain amount of seclusion before marriage. This was called the *tabu siga* in Fiji, but I do not know what the observances were except that in the case of young females designed for the wives of chiefs it was *tabu* for them to go out by day, but I think that further inquiries on the spot would show that some other meaning was attached to the observance.

When I crossed New Ireland in 1876 I had the opportunity of seeing the way in which these observances were carried out, and wrote the following account at the time:—

> I had heard from the teacher about some strange custom connected with some of the young girls here, and so I asked the chief to take me to the house where they were. The house, which was about 25 feet in length, stood in a reed and bamboo enclosure, across the entrance to which a bundle of dried grass was suspended to show that it was strictly *tabu*. Inside the house were three conical structures about 7 or 8 feet in height, and about 10 or 12 feet in circumference at the bottom and for about 4 feet from the ground,

at which height they tapered off to a point at the top. These cages were made of the broad leaves of the pandanus sewn quite close together, so that no light, and little or no air, can enter. On one side of each was an opening, which is closed by a double door of plaited cocoa-nut leaves and pandanus leaves. About 3 feet from the ground there is a stage of bamboos, which forms the floor. In each of these cages we were told that there was a girl or young woman confined, each of whom had to remain for at least four or five years without ever being allowed to go outside the house. I could scarcely credit the story when I heard it; the whole thing seemed too horrible to be true. I spoke to the chief, and told him that I wished to see the inside of the cages, and also to see the girls, that I might make them a present of a few beads. He told me that it was *tabu* (forbidden) for any men but their own relations to look at them; but I suppose the promised beads acted as an inducement, and so he sent away for some old lady who had charge, and who alone is allowed to open the doors. Whilst we were waiting we could hear the girls talking to the chief in a querulous way, as if objecting to something or expressing their fears. The old woman came at length, and certainly she did not seem a very pleasant jailer or guardian, nor did she seem to favour the request of the chief to allow us to see the girls, as she regarded us with any but pleasant looks. However, she had to undo the doors when the chief told her to do so, and then the girls peeped out at us, and when told to do so they held out their hands for the beads. I, however, purposely sat some distance away, and merely held out the beads to them, as I wished to draw them quite outside, that I might inspect the inside of the cages. This desire of mine gave rise to another difficulty, as these girls are not allowed to put their feet on the ground all the time they are confined in these places. However, they wished to get the beads, and so the old lady had to go outside and collect a lot of pieces of wood and bamboo, which she placed on the ground, and then going to one of the girls she helped her down, and held her hand as she stepped from one piece of wood to another, until she came near enough to get the beads I held out to her. I then went to inspect the inside of the cage out of which she had come, but could scarcely put my head inside of it, the atmosphere was so hot and stifling. It was quite clean, and contained nothing but a few short lengths of bamboo for holding water. There was only room for a girl to sit or to lie down in a crouched position on the bamboo platform, and when the doors are shut it must be nearly or quite dark inside. They are never allowed to come out except once a day, to bathe in a dish or wooden bowl placed close to each cage. They say that they perspire profusely. They are placed in these stifling cages when quite young, and must remain there until they are young women, when they are taken out and have each a great marriage feast provided for them. One of them was about fourteen or fifteen years old, and the chief told us that she had been there for five years, but would very soon be taken out now. The other two were about eight and ten years old, and they have to stay there for several years longer. I asked if they never died, but they said no. If they are ill they must still remain. Some other girls we saw outside wore fringes crossed over the breast and back. As well as we could learn, they must wear this as soon as they attain a certain age or stage of growth, and continue doing so until marriageable. This latter custom seems to be followed by those whose parents cannot afford, or are unwilling to bear the expense of, the feasts which the other barbarous custom entails. Our people tell me that the same custom in a modified form prevails also on the western side of New Ireland. There, however, they only build temporary huts of cocoa-nut leaves in the bush, in which the girls remain.

The Rev. R. H. Rickard saw this custom in 1892 on the western coast of New Ireland, and described it as follows:—

One day we heard of a girl in a *buck*, so we went to see her. A *buck* is the name of a little house, not larger than an ordinary hen-coop, in which a little girl is shut up, sometimes for weeks only, and at other times for months. This custom is called a *kihal*, the particulars of which are more suitable for a scientific society than for general readers. Briefly stated, the custom is this. Girls, on attaining puberty or betrothal, are enclosed in one of these little coops for a considerable time. They must remain there night and day. We saw two of these girls in two coops; the girls were not more than ten years old, still they were lying in a doubled-up position, as their little houses would not admit of them lying in any other way. These two coops were inside a large house; but the chief, in consideration of a present of a couple of tomahawks, ordered the ends to be torn out of the house to admit the light, so that we might photograph the *buck*. The occupant was allowed to put her face through an opening to be photographed, in consideration of another present. It is pleasing to note that in the *lotu* (Christian) towns of this district this custom is quite extinct.

Rev. I. Rooney also observed this custom. He says:

I was just in time to witness the ceremony of caging one of the girls. The poor little thing, loaded with necklaces and belts of red, white, and blue beads, looked very frightened. On the morrow she was to be tattooed in the New Ireland fashion, *i.e.* have all kinds of patterns carved on her body. One part of the ceremony was a fight between the females of the Maramara and Pikalaba clans, seemingly for the possession or custody of the captive. After pelting each other vigorously with anything that came to hand, a rush was made by the victorious Amazons for the house where the girl was caged. A general scrimmage ensued at the narrow entrance to the house. The crush was fearful, but no bones were broken. The ladies did not show to advantage in the *mêlée*.

With regard to the young men, I have never heard of any special preparatory custom being observed in Duke of York Island; but the Rev. B. Danks, in a paper communicated to the Anthropological Institute, gives an account of the custom on the main island of New Britain, from which I give the following extract:—

> A number of young men have arrived at the age of, say, from fifteen to sixteen years, or even two years younger. A great feast is prepared, and all the relatives of the young men or boys are there. At a certain stage of the feast a rush is made by the men towards the boys. The latter are quickly seized from behind and their arms pinioned, lest they should break loose and attempt to spear their captors. While they are held a chief or a relative of each lad advances toward him with some shell-money, which is tied together in a coil, and throws it over the lad's head on to his shoulders. This, so far as I am able to understand the matter, is simply to appease the anger of the young fellow, who is supposed to be very angry indeed at being forced into matrimony, or fitness for matrimony. Yet if he can break away before the money is thrown over his head, he may escape for the time being. But a young man having escaped the public ceremony may yet be entrapped in a private way. His parents are ashamed of his bachelorship, or strongly desire to see him married. They may arrange with some of his friends or companions to decoy him to some given place, where they will meet him. He suspects nothing, until he is suddenly seized from behind and held firmly, while his friends throw the shell-money over his head, and the ceremony is completed. But while he is in the power of the others he will vociferate, as only a savage can, "What have I done that I should be compelled to marry? Have I ever got you into trouble by immoral conduct? Let me go." If he could break away it would be etiquette for him to attempt the lives of those who are forcing him into fitness for marriage.

The ceremony over, the young man must go into the bush and hide away from all his relatives for a period varying from three to six months. But under the pressure of any sudden emergency, such as war, he may return almost at once. Usually, however, he remains. It appears that he may meet any female of the town or village without disgrace, except a female relative. Houses are erected in the bush for the young men to occupy with any of their friends whom they may persuade to accompany them. The houses thus built are but poor affairs, only built of plaited cocoa-nut tree leaves. This custom is called *Paraparau*, which is the reduplicated noun form of *parau*, to hide. Under cover of the darkness of night he may come down to the beach, but must not be seen by a female relative.

Should a young man who is in hiding happen to meet a female relative in the bush, he does not run away from her, but keeps on his way until they meet, when he will step aside from the road, and hold out to her anything he may have in his possession. She takes it without a word, and they part. It now becomes the duty of the young man's friends to redeem for him that which he may have given to her. This seems to be a sort of compensation to her for the shame of having met him. So far as I can gather, he is responsible for that shame and so must pay. Until this pledge, or whatever it may be called, is redeemed, he is considered to be in disgrace, and is much ashamed. While hiding from females, a great liberty seems to be accorded to him and his companions, viz. that of visiting various towns for a considerable distance around, where the young man is shown as "the man about to marry." This custom is called *Buli na vavina*. *Vavina* means woman, but what *buli* means I have never been able to ascertain.

When the young man has been in hiding long enough to satisfy himself and his friends, two or three houses are erected on the beach. These are decorated in a variety of ways, showing much taste. The houses are never used for much except as sitting-houses, in which young men congregate, and in which I have never seen a woman. These are allowed to remain as long as they will stand, and even the ruins are allowed to remain for a considerable time after the houses have fallen down. When the houses have been built a feast is prepared by the young man's friends, and the ceremony is completed. The young man who has thus been made marriageable is not of necessity bound to marry. Many do not marry for a considerable time after their *Paraparau* is accomplished. Some I have met who have never married, but the cause lay in their inability to raise the shell-money with which to purchase a wife.

Supposing a young man wishes to marry. His friends soon learn of his desire, and they set to work at once. It may be that he has expressed a desire to make a certain young woman his wife. In that case the friends will try to secure her for him. But failing any indication of a special choice on his part, they proceed to make a selection according to their own tastes and desires. The amount of shell-money which they intend to pay for her is measured out and tied in a coil, and then tied upon a spear or pole, or is carried in the hand, to the place where the girl's family lives. If it is tied to a spear, when they arrive at the place the spear is thrust into the ground, and the party sit down. Before business can be done, the betel-nut must be chewed by all present, a large quantity being assigned to the visiting party. They then state their business. With some there is a feeling of honour, and in order to secure with dignity the required prize, a sufficiently tempting price is offered to secure an immediate sanction on the part of the girl's friends. But in the majority of cases which have come under my own observation there has been a haggling over the matter which has not been edifying, the friends of the girl insisting upon a higher price because of her surpassing excellences, the would-be purchaser expostulating because of her personal blemishes or defects.

After the price has been decided and paid, the girl may be taken away at once to her husband's home, or she may be allowed to remain with her friends for a considerable time. If she is very young the latter course may be adopted; if she is full-grown, the former. I have known full-grown young women who have been purchased when young, and who then were unclaimed by their husbands. But claimed or not claimed, great feasts are prepared by the relatives of the girl for the relatives of the young man, and vice versa. Whenever a young woman has to go to her husband, she is taken to him by her friends. Some very painful sights are seen in this part of their marriage customs. It often happens that the young woman has a liking for another, and none for the man who has purchased her. She may refuse to go to him. In that case her friends consider themselves disgraced by her conduct. She ought, according to their notions, to fall in with their arrangements with thankfulness and gladness of heart. They drag her along, beat her, kick and abuse her; and it has been my misfortune to see girls dragged past my house, struggling in vain to escape from their fate. It has then been my privilege and duty to stand between the infuriated brother or father, who has followed close upon the poor girl, spear in hand, vowing to put her to death for the disgrace she has brought upon them.

I am well aware that it is etiquette for the women to make some show of resistance; but when it is done as a mere matter of etiquette the friends pretend to be angry, but in their pretensions there is much laughter and fun. But in many cases which came under my notice it was not a matter of form, but very painful earnestness.

On Duke of York Island the preliminary and marriage customs differ in some respects from those on the main island.

When a young man wishes to marry he must first ask the young woman herself, as it is not etiquette in New Britain for the lady to make open advances first. In Samoa they have the sensible plan of allowing either of the parties to propose, but this is not proper in New Britain. I asked my informant the question, "How does the lad know whether the girl likes him or not?" "Oh," he said, "he can soon find that out. He looks at her, watches her, and soon he sees it in her eye." Sometimes the young man asks her himself or gets his sister to do so. If she consents they become *webat*, that is, each of them is forbidden to any one else. The young man *pet bati's* the young woman, that is, he forbids her to any one else, and she is called his *webat*, or the person whom he forbids to any one else, a more practical name than sweetheart, but it means the same. No one likes his sweetheart interfered with, and a New Britain lad simply expresses this in the name he calls her, instead of using a more poetical term. The young man has then to tell his father and friends what he has done; in fact, he cannot get married without, as they have to supply the necessary money. The girl tells her mother; she is ashamed, so she says, to tell any one else. She tells the young man if her family consents, and then they, of course, are happy. It is not etiquette for the girl's family to do anything more; they simply wait, and so does the young man. Whilst waiting, however, he makes up a present, a kind of engagement present. He knows nothing about engagement rings, but the same object is accomplished when he gets a basket and puts into it anything and everything he can muster up to take as a present to his future wife. The basket will probably contain a few fathoms of *diwara*, some beads, a bit of tobacco, a pipe, shell armlets, pearl shells, cuscus teeth, a bit of red cloth or their own dyed substitute for it. The basket is called *ka na ograt.* Sometimes the young man is too shy to give it to the girl himself, and so he gets one of her girl friends to act for him and take the present to her. The young woman, however, cannot take anything out of the basket to use for herself. She keeps it safe until they are married and takes it with her.

The next step has to be taken by the young man's friends. His father, brothers, and relatives get money (*pupulu*) from a chief who lends the sums required, "for a consideration," of course. If the father requires 60 fathoms of *diwara* he takes 6 fathoms to the chief and he will lend him the 60. A brother wants 30 and so he takes 3 fathoms and gets the 30 fathoms, and so on until all have got what they require. Then they meet together and divide out what they think right amongst the woman's friends, taking care, however, to keep back some in case they are not satisfied. The amounts are apportioned on a sliding scale, father of the woman first, then mother, uncles, brothers, etc. The uncle comes before the brother; he is, in fact, regarded as another father. If, however, the woman's brother happens also to be the chief, he would probably take precedence. All the woman's relatives are supposed to get a share. If any are dissatisfied, they, of course, say so, and then more would be given. The woman's friends buy food to give to the man's friends, but he is not supposed to know anything of what is being done, and in fact is not to be found, as he always hides away in some secret place known only to his comrades.

Three or four days after this the woman is taken (*tulai*) by her friends to the man's home. They take with them food done up in bundles, and each having a piece of *diwara* bound round it. The man's friends give bundles of food also, but no *diwara*. The woman has then to remain behind, and of course cries when her mother and friends go away. Often she makes a great noise, and if she does not like her husband she may probably run away, but generally she goes very quietly with just a natural cry at leaving her old home. There is nothing in Duke of York Island indicating the survival of the custom of possession by capture so far as I could discover, no sham fight or real chase.

Three days after this there is a feast called *Wawainim*, meaning giving to drink. The woman's friends take a live pig and cocoa-nuts to the man's friends, and his friends reciprocate with cocoa-nuts only, each man having his own particular friend on the opposite side with whom he exchanges food. One of the man's friends pays half the price of the pig, then each party displays their wealth, taking round *diwara*.

Three days after this there is another feast. The principal item of this feast is a very large dish of taro and expressed cocoa-nut milk baked together in banana leaves. Next to this is a large basket filled with puddings, almond-nuts, chestnuts, green and ripe bananas, taro, etc. This is called *ka na dok*, and stretching out in a line from these are different bundles of food brought by separate owners. Great quantities of *diwara* are placed near the food and spears and weapons are stuck in the ground by it. The woman's friends take up their money and march round the food showing what wealth they have, singing and shouting. This is called *poat*. Then the man's friends do the same, only going round in the opposite direction. Then each one of the girl's friends brings the *diwara* which was given as her payment, say he got 40 fathoms for his share, he places a bundle of 10 fathoms on the first large pudding and keeps another 10, then another 10 on the *ka na dok*, and keeps the fourth 10, thus really returning half; but he may intend to give all to the bride and bridegroom, and if so, he takes it all away with him as though he were going to give none. The man's mother takes all this returned *diwara* and gives it to him, and he has to use it to pay those who have displayed their wealth in his honour, and also to buy food. The large dish of baked taro and nut is kept for next day. The second large basket, *ka na dok*, is divided out at once amongst the women of the husband's class; no man is allowed to taste this food, or any woman of the opposite class to the man. If he is *maramara*, only *maramara* women can taste that food, and vice versa. Each of the two large baskets and each present of food has four cocoa-nuts round it. The chief takes one of the four from the first large basket and breaks it, and sprinkles with it the young couple and those sitting near them. Two men then stand up and interchange the food. The chief then gets up and makes a great display of dancing and shouting, and showing off all he can. He rushes to a tree and striking it with his tomahawk, one blow for every man he has killed, he makes a gesture towards the place where his victim lived, driving his spear into a banana, he tells in the same way how many he has speared, and so with sling and stone he tells how many he has hit, calling out names, so that all may know. Presents for the young couple are then made by the woman's friends and taken to her mother, who at once deputes a woman to take them, for her son-in-law is now *nimuan* to her, and it would be a dreadful thing for her to go near him or even to speak his name. The old woman who takes the presents generally tries to make a laugh by imitating the uses of each article. Each present is accompanied with a pearl shell. A basket and a pearl shell, a net and pearl shell, and so with broom, digging-sticks, cords, spear, tomahawk, yams, and other articles to plant. The spear is given to the man, an emblem of his duty to defend the woman who is committed to his care. The broom is given to the woman to signify her duty to sweep the house and grounds and keep them clean. Sometimes, I was told, a stick was given to the husband by the woman's brother with which to keep her in order if she should be troublesome or negligent of her duty. A cocoa-nut is broken over the heads of the young couple and the milk sprinkled over them.

Up to this time the bride and bridegroom have not eaten together, in fact, they are forbidden. Next day, however, they have to finish by paying back all the *diwara*.

1. The man's friends had borrowed *diwara*, say from a chief called Torogud, paying him 10 per cent in advance, that is, they gave him 1 fathom for each 10.

2. The man now pays them interest at 20 per cent, that is, 2 fathoms for each 10 which they gave.

3. His friends, however, now give according to their means, some 20, 30, or more fathoms, and any of them not giving enough is remonstrated with.

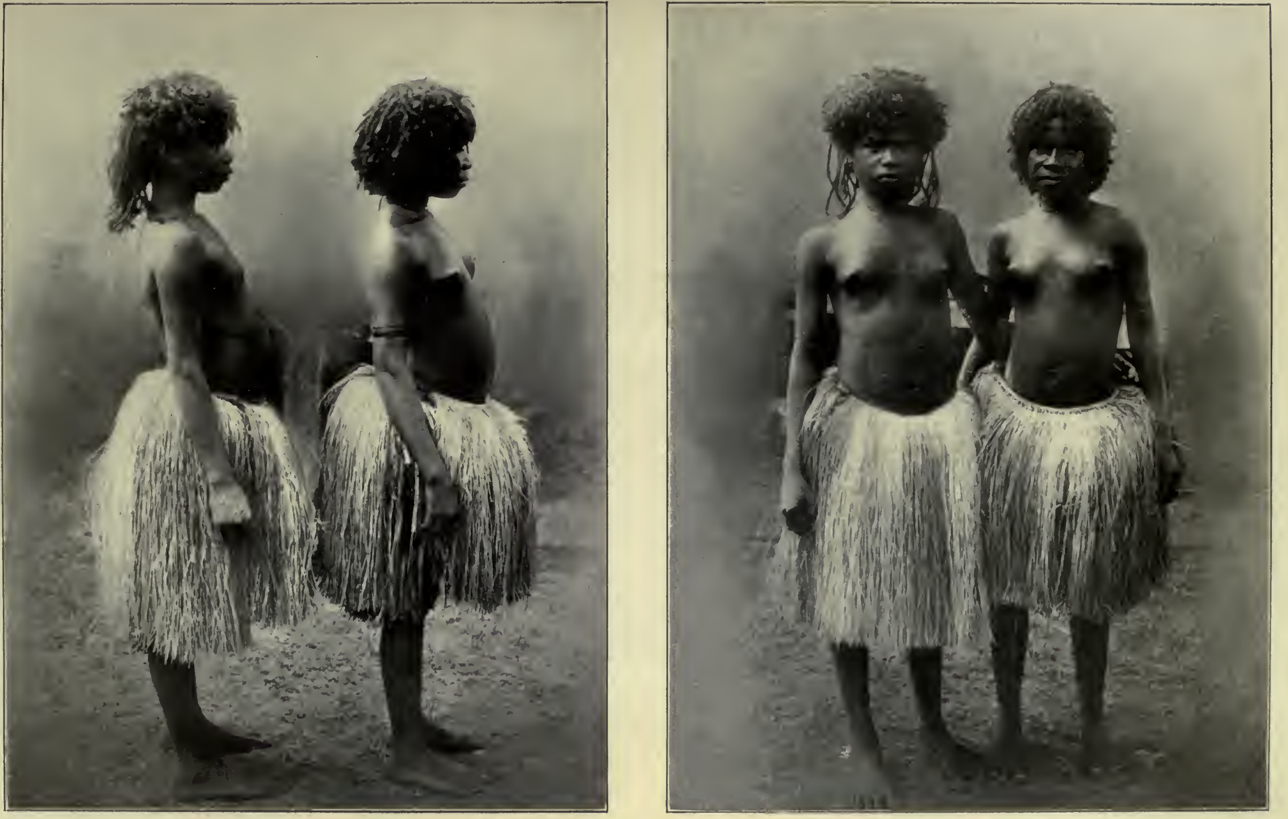
4. This is put together, and then the quantity which each borrowed from Torogud is put aside, interest again added, and the whole returned to him.

5. Thus the chief Torogud has got 20 per cent on the transaction, and the man has got his wife and little or nothing in addition.

Sometimes, if husband and wife disagree very much, the man can send his wife away, but she is not a free agent, and she must run if she wishes to get free. If she runs away with another man there would be a big fight, and the husband might go to the chief and get payment for his wife's infidelity, when, of course, the new husband would have to pay smartly. A man, I was told, would never take his wife back again under such circumstances. If any were not properly married the people made fun of them, and did not like to see them going about together.

Marriage customs differ considerably, even in districts close to each other. At Outam, for example, which is only a short distance away from Molot, no great ceremonies take place.

Some other customs which may be noticed are that a man may not resell his wife, so that the sale of the woman has certain limitations. There is a curious distinction in the words used for marriage. A man does not *taula ta ra tebuan*, that is, he does not marry to a woman, but *i taula ma*, etc., that is, he marries with a woman. A woman does not *taula ma*, marry with, but *taula ta*, marry to a man. A singular custom in connection with the marriage ceremonies is that after the presents are given a cocoa-nut is broken over the heads of the young couple and the milk sprinkled upon them. I do not know what is really meant by this custom, but in Samoa it is practised to remove the *tabu* caused by a sacred chief sitting in a certain place, or from



Two Girls of Dobu, S.E. New Guinea.

touching the remains of his food, or in preparing the body for burial.

Polygamy is practised by chiefs and by others who are able to find the necessary payment. The women live in the same compound with the husband, but generally have separate houses. In New Guinea, however, this custom could not be carried out, as the different classes live in separate villages. For instance, if a man has five wives, each of these women belongs to a different town. A teacher, in describing this custom, says:

> Suppose, for instance, you reside at a village called A, one of your wives will be a woman belonging to the village B, another to C, the third to D, the fourth to E, and the fifth to F. No one of them can be of your town A, the A women are forbidden to you. And each of those five wives of yours stays in her own town; she does not come to yours. Her house is built in her town, and you dwell in your house in A. But it is your business to go and visit them at B, C, D, E, and F, and plant food in each of those places; and as for the children of these women, they belong to the town and tribe of their mother, so that you have no children at all in A, and your line is extinct in your own town.
>
> But if you have a sister, and a man marries her, he does not take her away to his own town. Her house is built near to yours in A, and her children are not counted to her husband's tribe or clan; they are counted to yours. Thus, your own children go to other tribes, but your sister's children come to yours.

Samoan marriages are of two kinds, those in which the whole village is concerned and those in which the matter is only one between the parties themselves or their respective families. In the first instance, the people of some town or village would select some young girl as the *taupou* (virgin) of the town and of the respective family relations connected with it. She was generally the daughter of a ruling chief, or in some instances of one of the principal *tulafales*. When this was decided the girl's hair is shaved in the middle of the head, from the nape of the neck to the forehead, whilst on the sides the hair was allowed to grow long. She was always guarded and accompanied wherever she went by some woman of the family, as well as by a number of girl companions about her own age. She often had some fancy name given to her. One lady whom I knew was called "The rising moon." When the girl was considered marriageable the young chiefs came with large parties, sometimes from a very great distance. This was called an *aumoega*. The suitor and his party brought large presents of food on these occasions. This was distributed amongst all the families in the village. When one of these suitors went away he generally left a companion called his *soa* to watch over his interests. Strange to say, some of these men even slept under the same mosquito curtain with the lady, but without any impropriety. In some instances this coming and going of suitors would occupy many months, and sometimes years. When, however, the lady expressed her preference in favour of one of her admirers, or when the members of her family and the heads of families in the village decided on some one of the suitors, preparations were at once made for the marriage. These often extended over several months, as the prospective bridegroom and his immediate relations had to go on begging expeditions to all who were connected with them and collect from them large quantities of property, which in the earlier days consisted of food, canoes, houses, and other native property called *oloa*. Of late years, however, calicoes, prints, guns, boxes, and other articles of foreign property have been included in that designation. The family of the *taupou* also collected from all her relatives beautiful fine mats and native cloth, which were designated by the name *tōnga*. A great feast was prepared by the chief's friends and given to the relatives and friends of the bride, who alone partook of it.

At the time appointed for the marriage the bride and her friends went to the home of the bridegroom, which was generally in another district or on some other island. In the case of a *taupou* the ceremonies took place in the *malae*, or place of public assembly. Great preparations were made; the bride and her attendant girls and women would be attired in all their best mats, including the bridal or *fau* mat and also the fine *ie tōnga*; in fact, she would be dressed in all the finery which the family could gather together. She and her attendant girls would go in procession from the house in which she and her relatives were staying, bringing her dowry, consisting of the mats, native cloth which had been gathered together, and these were laid down in front of the bridegroom amid the shouts of the assembled people. They then returned to the house for more, and the same process was repeated until the whole of the mats and native property had been placed before him, after which she sat down near him. The tokens of virginity were then taken by an uncle or some other near relative, *digito intromisso*. On being exhibited, shouts of joy were raised by the assembled multitude. The operation was by two fingers, and was done under a sheet of native cloth in the middle of the *malae*. Should the girl not prove to be a virgin the females of her family fell upon her and beat her most severely with their fists, and as a further expression of their shame they often took up stones and beat themselves until their heads were bruised and bleeding. Then the property which had been collected was exchanged, the object of each side being to have the honour of giving the largest amount. The giving or exchange of property between the respective parties was really the marriage ceremony. The property was then divided out by the old men amongst the respective families, but the young couple got nothing.

Many other marriages took place without any great ceremony. In some instances the young man would send presents to the young woman and her relatives by some friend, who would be at the same time instructed to convey a proposal to her father or to her elder brother. If they were agreeable the marriage was generally followed by an interchange of property between the respective families, the bridegroom and his family always giving *oloa*, and the bride and her family giving *tōnga*. There were also often runaway marriages. A travelling party would be sleeping in a village, and the *soa* or procurers of the chief of a party would persuade some girl to run off with their chief. As soon as they were safely beyond the bounds of the village the young men of the party would parade through the village singing the praises of the couple. This would be the first intimation the girl's friends would have of what had taken place. Such cases were sure to be followed by the usual exchange of property and feast, and so legalised.

Marriage did not make the husband one of the family; he was only a stranger, and had no voice in any deliberations, and the same applied to the woman in the husband's family.

There were no exogamous classes, the only restriction being against the marriage of relatives, and in this respect their customs were much stricter than even those contained in the table of "kindred and affinity." I believe that the principal reason against this intermarriage of relations was not on any religious grounds, but simply because there would not be the same interchange of property. It was a common practice in the olden days for a woman to take her sister or sisters with her, and these were practically the concubines of the husband. Each of them would, in all probability, take *tōnga* as a dowry. This, of course, was an important matter, but another reason would often be the unwillingness of the wife to have strangers sharing the affections and attention of her husband.

There was not much trouble about divorce, as quarrels, sickness, barrenness, cross temper, etc., were all valid reasons, though when children were born they constituted a bond of union. Any divorced wife could marry again without restriction if the chief had divorced her by sending her home to her family. If, however, the woman had divorced herself by running home she was not allowed to marry again so long as her husband claimed her. She would also probably be brought back if her husband gave a canoe or some other present to the family. In the case of some high chief no wife could marry again, whether divorced by him or leaving of her own accord, unless with the special permission of the family of the chief. If this were not obtained the man who married her, if not killed, would certainly have to pay a heavy fine. Should the wife die, her husband's brother would probably take his brother's widow, so that the children might be kept in the family and not given away to the mother's family. Wives, as a rule, were not down-trodden. They helped the husband in weeding the plantation, they made the native cloth, and planted the paper mulberry shrubs from which it was manufactured. They fished, filled the water-bottles, gathered the dried cocoa-nut leaves for the evening fire, spread the sleeping-mats, and hung up the mosquito curtains. They also plaited all mats, both fine ones (*ie tōnga*) and the house mats. The first work of a wife in the morning was generally to pick up the rubbish and fallen leaves about the house.

CHAPTER V

FOOD, COOKING, CANNIBALISM

Food and the processes of cooking are important matters in the family life, and may properly be described here. In New Britain the principal vegetables are taro, yams (several kinds), sweet potatoes, sweet yam, wild arum (*paragum*), wild yam, banana, dumb cane (*kadala*), leaves used as cabbage (*tuba*), a shrub (*palua*), the leaves of which are eaten; sugar-cane, a kind of reed (*kamok*), cocoa-nut, wild hog plum of Tahiti (*kum*), *tan*, *tamap*, bread-fruit (*bare*), *bunamia*, *kai*, *lapua*, *le*, *kana* (tree), species of pandanus (*waum*), *natu*, *talia*, a kind of nut (*pana*).

Several kinds of fish and shell-fish are not eaten because poisonous. Some sea-anemones are said to be very poisonous. They eat fowls, pigs, dogs, one kind of banana rat, perameles, bats, most birds, cuscus, snakes, iguana, eels, eggs of megapodes, etc., turtles (not called fish), sharks.

Some of the vegetables, more especially taro and bread-fruit, are made into a kind of bread. One kind of sago palm (*gelep*) is cooked and eaten, but it is not made into flour as the cassava. Some kinds of pepper plants are also eaten in times of scarcity. No milk or any of its preparations is used. They are very fond of marrow, especially that extracted from human bones. Blood also is used, and is cooked together with leaves used as cabbage and small pieces of pork when obtainable. Members of certain societies cannot eat some kinds of food. Those of the Iniat Society cannot eat pork, shark, turtle, cuttle-fish, dog, and one or two kinds of fish. They believe that the animals forbidden to them are those in which their spirits (*tebaran*) reside or take temporary possession of. The animals are not regarded as being the *tebarans*, nor even the representatives of them; they are simply their temporary abode. A man who is being initiated into any society is sometimes forbidden to eat certain articles of food for a long time, and often voluntarily abstains from them afterwards. Women are not allowed to eat pork; the men are very angry when women eat it. There are no particular seasons during which the use of special articles of food is forbidden except when a *tabu* is placed upon them by the chief or by the Dukduk, or some similar society. This is generally done either to increase the quantity by making as it were a close season, or for monetary reasons. I do not remember any cases in which individuals or families were prevented from eating certain animals and plants on account of their being the totems of other individuals or families. If any animal or edible plant was the totem of any family the members of that family would certainly be prevented from eating it. The totems which I have known were not edible, and so far as my knowledge goes only individuals who belonged to the Iniat Society, and those who were temporarily forbidden when spells or charms (*malira*) were being carried on, were forbidden to eat certain kinds of food. Storehouses were only used for yams, and were always private property. In times of scarcity, fruits, wild yams, and roots were eaten, but no edible clay. When going long journeys they were accustomed to eat in secret certain plants which they said were to strengthen them, but in my opinion the real meaning was to guard against or counteract any spells or magic (*agagara*). They had also the idea that the eating of these plants would cause any one who might kill or eat them to be himself killed and eaten afterwards. Cocoa-nut oil was occasionally used in cooking, but the principal source of oil was from the nuts of the *tamap*, a kind of almond, which were scraped and squeezed, and then the oil obtained from them by heat. Salt water was used in cooking, but strange to say, I could find no word for salt. The juice of the sugar-cane was used as a sweetening substance. There was no marked difference in the food of the chiefs and that of other men; in fact, the chiefs were only men who had more money and more "magic" than the others. Fire was obtained in the usual way by friction. I made many inquiries as to whether there were any special superstitions connected with fire or any traditions as to its origin, but could not hear of any, and was often assured that there were no traditions. Only in the case of one or two small fishes which they say have no blood in them, is fish eaten raw, as in Samoa and other places. The usual form of cooking is by broiling or baking, and for the latter purpose two ovens are often used. One is similar to the Samoan, that is, a shallow one and with no water poured on the stones. This is called a *raran*. The other is made with a deeper hole, and has water poured on to the hot stones before the oven is covered up, as practised by the Maori. This is called a *wowo*. Vegetables are cooked with the meat, and if this is required to be boiled it is accomplished by the use of hot stones, as they had no cooking vessels. Some kinds of soups and stews are made this way, and also a pudding of scraped taro, which is called *gim.* Generally the women did all the cooking at home and the men abroad, and the food for both sexes was cooked together. As a rule they both preferred the food to be well cooked. In the case of some acrid or poisonous plants only cooking was used to extract the noxious qualities. There were no traditions, so far as I could learn, as to the origin of the art of cooking; in fact, when the question was asked the only answer was, "Our fathers always cooked and so do we," and they wondered greatly why such a question should be propounded to them. There are ancient heaps of refuse, but these only contain shells and bones, and are being continually formed, generally near houses, but sometimes on the large islands or on the river-banks where they go to fish. The natives have two opinions, one is that men were more plentiful formerly, and another that they are more plentiful now. Only water and cocoa-nuts are used for drinking. They had only one regular meal a day, and that was in the evening. They, however, managed to pick up something during the day, but their opinion was that a man who ate during the day could not work. What they omitted, however, in the way of eating, they made up by chewing the areca nut, betel pepper, and lime whenever they could get it, and I think that this blunted the sense of hunger. Usually two or three families live in a small enclosure and the food is generally shared out. No family eats food alone if living together or near others. There are no ceremonies or religious rites used either before or after meals. Great feasts are often held, generally in connection with the dead or with the secret societies. Should a stranger be present at the family meal he will only eat with his particular friend. The heads of families or the chief are all served first. Food for the dead is generally cooked separately. No stimulants are used, with the exception of the areca nut, lime and betel pepper.

In Samoa fire was obtained by friction, and the process is still used when matches are not available. A man will take a piece of dry wood which is placed on the ground, then another small piece is pointed and firmly grasped by the two hands. This is rubbed backwards and forwards, slowly at first, until a groove is formed in the log, when the rubbing is accelerated, until the little heap of scooped-out dust at the end of the groove begins to smoke, when the operator rubs very fast indeed and the action causes the dust to ignite. This ignited matter is then placed in the middle of some inflammable material until it bursts into a flame, and with this a few leaflets of the dried cocoanut leaf are ignited. The exertion of rubbing the fire-stick is very great. Old men are not always able to get fire, especially on damp days, and sometimes have to walk several miles to the nearest village to get a light before they can cook their food. The ashes of the fire-place were usually heaped together, and so kept alight all the night. On going to work on the following morning they generally twisted up rags of native cloth into a tight kind of rope, which they took with them to make their fire in the bush. When they required a light for the evening fire it was a common custom to go to a neighbouring house and beg for a light. So common was this practice, and so often made a pretence for getting food, that they had a proverb, *E ati afi a e no masi, i.e.* they profess to come for a light, but really to beg for bread. Each family had a cooking-house standing away at the back of their dwelling-houses. The native oven consisted of a shallow hole in which a quantity of firewood was piled. On the top of the wood and round about it were placed a number of stones, generally about the size of a small fist. The stones being heated, often to a red heat, and the firewood consumed, some of the ashes were raked out and the stones spread out in a layer by means of a long stick. The food to be cooked was then placed on the top of the stones, some of the hot stones placed around it on the sides, and the whole was then covered over, in the first instance, with green bread-fruit leaves, and next with some of the older leaves which had done duty on a previous occasion, so as to confine all the heat and steam. In about an hour the oven would be ready to open and the vegetables would be well cooked—in fact, I know of no better way of cooking vegetables than in the Samoan oven. In New Zealand the process is somewhat different: the hole is deeper, and just before covering in the oven a little water is poured down on the hot stones, but the results are the same, as in both cases the vegetables are well cooked. The food on which the Samoans principally depend consists of taro, yams, bread-fruit, and bananas. There are generally three crops of bread-fruit in the year, one of them lasting for about three months. The fruit is picked by means of a long hooked pole, and before cooking is scraped in strips by a shell, for the purpose of letting out the juicy gum, and if large it is split in halves for the convenience of cooking. When the crop of bread-fruit was fully ripe, preparations were made for preserving some of it for a time of scarcity. A large hole was dug and covered at the bottom and sides with the wide leaves of a wild banana; the hole was then filled with the bread-fruit, which was then covered up with many layers of the wild banana leaf, and over all they placed a heap of large stones. The bread-fruit then fermented and formed a soft mass, which emitted a very vile smell every time the pit was opened for the purpose of taking out some of the fermented mass. This was mixed with the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut and cooked in flat cakes wrapped up in leaves. Sometimes when taro and bananas were very plentiful they were treated in the same way as the bread-fruit. The staple food of the islands was taro, which grows all the year round. In the wet season it was planted on the high land from one to four miles inland of the village. The bush was cleared by cutting down the small scrub and making fires at the root of the larger trees. Many of the trees when killed were left standing for firewood. Other kinds of taro were planted in swamps and these were considered to be more glutinous and better than those which were grown on the uplands. When the taro was pulled up, the top with some of the stalks was split off with a wooden chisel and these were kept for planting. The root was thoroughly scraped with a shell and was then ready for cooking. Yams only ripen once in a year, but they were stored up and with care would keep until the next season. Yam was esteemed a luxury by some in Samoa, but the natives themselves knew that neither it nor bread-fruit was as nourishing as the taro, as they always felt hungry much sooner after eating it than when they had had a meal of taro. Bananas were generally cooked when green and used as a vegetable. Sometimes they were allowed to ripen in the house and then eaten as fruit. When it was desired to have a quantity of ripe fruit at a given date, a hole was dug in the ground and a number of bunches of bananas placed in it, covered over with banana leaves, and in three days all were equally ripe. Wild yams and chestnuts were also used as food, and in times of scarcity the root of the *ti* (*Dracaena terminalis*) was used as food. The roots are very deep in the earth and involved hard labour in digging them out. A large kiln resembling a lime-kiln was dug, filled with firewood, and on the top of this the roots of bananas and the *ti* root were placed. In the process of cooking the sweet juice of the *ti* flowed down on the roots of banana and communicated a flavour to it. Arrowroot grows spontaneously. It is grated, washed, the stringy part strained out, and the residue washed several times and then made into balls and stored for use.

The fruits consist generally of the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*), swamp apple, the Malay apple (*Eugenia Malaccensis*), the *esi* (*Carica Papaya*); these with several kinds of banana were almost the only indigenous fruits, but many others have been introduced. The Samoans, I think, had more cooked dishes than Melanesians.

The great substitute for meat all over Samoa was *palusami*. This was made with the young and tender leaves of the taro. A number of these leaves were placed one over the other and then doubled up into the shape of a cup. This cup was filled with the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut and salt water, and the whole was then tied up in a bread-fruit leaf and cooked. It was a very delicious adjunct to the vegetables, and one that was specially appreciated by white men as well as by the natives. The taro leaf was also cooked with only salt water, and in that way it very closely resembled spinach. It was often prepared in that way for the sick, as the *palusami* was considered to be too rich. Another dish made from taro leaves was the *samilolo.* To make this a number of half-ripe cocoa-nuts were emptied of their juice and filled instead with salt water. The eye was then corked up again and the nuts exposed to the sun for ten days. This softened or rotted the nut and gave it a very decided flavour. It was then used instead of the freshly expressed juice of cocoa-nut with taro leaves. When the taste for this dish was once acquired it was much preferred by some to the *palusami.* In the bread-fruit season the great dish was *taofolo.* This was made by roasting the bread-fruit whole on the hot stones of the oven, after which the skins were taken off and the bread-fruits thrown into a large wooden bowl. They were then pounded and rubbed smooth by means of a pestle made of a young green bread-fruit with a stick for a handle. Then a mixture of cocoa-nut juice and salt water was poured on to it, and the mass divided into lumps about the size of a mouthful by the fingers and served up in bread-fruit leaves. A richer kind was made by omitting the salt water and adding the expressed cocoa-nut juice extracted by hot stones. Another relish for food was made by cooking the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut only. This hardened in cooking and resembled brains, and hence they gave it the name of *faiai*, *i.e.* brains. It is very sweet, but very rich. There were many other dishes made of taro and cocoa-nuts, but these will be sufficient to show that the Samoans were no mean cooks.

All kinds of fish were eaten, even in some cases when the fish was known to be often poisonous. In one case a fish was divided between two persons; the one who ate the head part died in a few hours, but the man who ate the tail end felt no ill effects. I knew also of a case where three fishes (*pelupelu*) about the size of a sprat were eaten by two men and a woman. One man ate the whole of his fish and half of another; the other man ate the whole of his fish only; the woman ate only half a fish. The first man died almost immediately; the second died in a few hours, though I applied all the remedies in my power. The woman was very ill, but afterwards recovered. Two deaths from eating three small fishes; and yet on another part of the island I have known a catch of more than 5000 of those same fishes eaten with impunity. The natives say that when there is another kind of fish in the shoal they are always poisonous, but when that is absent they may be eaten with perfect safety. Shark was often kept for three or four days before being eaten, and it is needless to say that in that time it became very gamy. The crayfish was often kept in the same way. Fish-poisoning often resulted from eating the liver of sharks, but it was not often fatal. Cuttle-fish were always eaten, and much appreciated. The bonito and the dolphin were fished in canoes built specially for the purpose, and I think it was from seeing those splendid dolphin canoes under full sail often when a large vessel was hove to that the early navigators called Samoa the Navigators' group. The great luxury, however, in Samoa is a species of crayfish called *valo*, which is obtained by digging on the sands in the lagoon. A man first inserts a nut-leaf in the hole to ascertain the direction of the tunnel, and then inserts a long stick into the sand where he thinks the *valo* is. He keeps doing this every few feet only, until at last he drives a *valo* out into the open and secures it. It is a soft-shelled crayfish with peculiar knife-shaped claws. It is so delicious that a proverbial saying applied to anything which is very nice is *Ua se sua valo* ("It is like the juice of a valo"). Another great delicacy is the *Palolo veridis*. This annelid, as far as I can remember, is about 8 or 12 inches long, and somewhat thicker than ordinary piping-cord. It is found only on two mornings in the year, and the time when it will appear and disappear can be accurately predicted. As a general rule, only a few palolo are found on the first day, though occasionally the large quantity may appear first; but, as a rule, the large quantity appears on the second morning. And it is only found on these mornings for a very limited period, viz. from early dawn to about seven o'clock, *i.e.* for about two hours. It then disappears until the following year, except in some rare instances, when it is found for the same limited period in the following month after its first appearance. I kept records of the time, and of the state of the moon, for some years, with the following result: that it always appeared on two out of the following three days, viz. the day before, the day of, and the day after the last quarter of the October moon.

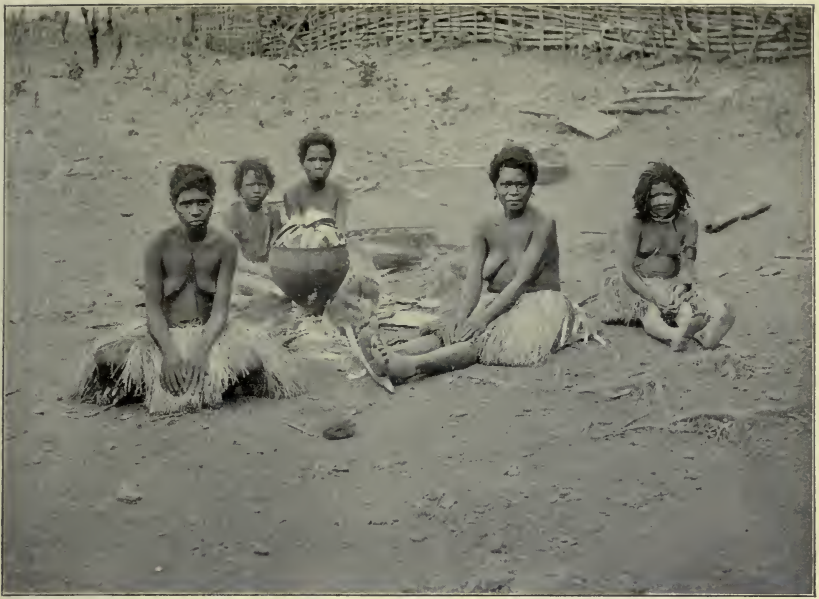
With regard to animal food, it is generally understood that pigs were introduced, but it is not at all clear when this was done. The general Polynesian term is *puaa*, *puaka*, or some similar name, and this is supposed to be derived from the Spanish or Portuguese language, but it is in my opinion certain that pigs were in those islands long before the advent of the white man. An old but very intelligent Tongan told me that his mother was a grown girl when Captain Cook landed at Vavau, and that she distinctly remembered the funeral feasts of many of the chiefs who had died previous to that visit, and could give the number of pigs which were killed for the funeral feast. Then again there is a native name for the pig, *alou*, though this is not known to the great majority of the Samoans themselves. If the pig was introduced, this, in my opinion, occurred long previous to any voyages of which we have any record. Every Samoan family keeps pigs, but not to eat for themselves; they are principally used to give to visitors or to pay fines with. They used to be killed by placing a stick across the animal's throat and standing on the two ends until it was strangled. They are nearly always baked whole, and are generally eaten when only half cooked.

Dogs were occasionally eaten by people living in the inland villages. The *Pea* (*Pteropus ruficolus*) or flying-fox was also eaten. It was caught by tying the branches of a thorny vine to the end of a long bamboo and so catching the wings of the bats as they flew by. Wild pigeons were very plentiful at certain seasons. Snakes were also eaten, and every family kept fowls. Blood was done up in leaves, baked, and eaten. Any family whose totem was represented by some bird or fish would not eat that particular animal, but this restriction did not extend beyond the family. The first turtle, and in some instances every turtle, and the sacred fish (*iâ sa*), were taken to the chiefs. Salt water was used in many of their dishes. People of the inland villages gathered the salt on the rocks and kept it for use. At other times the women would travel for miles to the sea to get a supply of salt water. There was no edible earth eaten by the Samoans.

With regard to drinks, the Samoans used no fermented liquors. The young or half-green cocoanuts and water were, with the exception of the *'ava* or *kava*, the only drinks used. The *'ava* (*Piper methysticum*) was drunk at all social gatherings and meetings of chiefs. Formerly it was always chewed, but latterly it is often grated or bruised. The root is dug up when it has attained maturity, and dried. When used small pieces were cut off and given to the young men or young women, who were called the *'aumanga*, and chewed by them until it was thoroughly broken up and the fibres separated. They were supposed to do this without wetting it with saliva, but whether they succeeded or not is a question upon which different opinions may be held. The different portions were then collected into the *'ava* bowl. This was a round shallow bowl standing on four feet, which was cut out of a solid log and highly polished. Water was poured on the chewed *'ava* and a cold infusion made. The fibre and dregs were then strained out by means of a quantity of flax until all the woody particles were removed. This operation was often very gracefully done. When all was ready, the man or girl who presided notified the fact by calling out, and hands were clapped by all present. A young man or girl would then stand up, and the person who presided at the '*ava* bowl would take up the liquor in the strainer and fill half or more of a polished cocoa-nut cup which was held over the bowl by the attendant. A *tulafale* would then call out in a loud voice the name and title of the highest chief present, and the cup would be handed to him with appropriate gesture. The chief would first pour out a small portion on the ground as a libation to the god, calling out at the same time his name and uttering some appropriate sentiment or petition, and would then drink. After the chief had drunk the '*ava* he would throw the cup back on the mat with a spinning motion. The young man would take it again, and the next in rank would be served, until all had drunk. Occasionally the right of some one to have the cup before another was questioned; in that case the serving had to be stopped, and speeches would be made, which sometimes ended in a quarrel and the breaking-up of the party. The appearance of the liquor is that of soapy water, but the taste for it is soon acquired by most white men. It has an aromatic flavour, and is very valuable for quenching thirst. In some of the Polynesian groups the infusion is made very strong, but the Samoans make it weaker, and very rarely drink it to excess. When this is done the skin becomes rough and scaly, and the eyes are made sore. '*Ava* was never taken with food, but always by itself previous to a meal.

Meals were at set times twice a day. When the people came down from their plantations in the morning they made an oven of food. This would be ready about noon, and all the family partook of it. What was left was put into a basket for the evening meal, which took place soon after dark, when the fire of dried cocoa-nut leaves was lit. In these days kerosene lamps have taken the place of the cocoa-nut leaves. Each household ate together, and there was no distinction of rank, age, or sex. The whole of the food was divided out in shares, but any ripe fruit, such as bananas, would be eaten last. Great feasts were very common, and were held on every possible occasion such as births, deaths, marriages, declaring war, making peace, house-warming, or the passing away of epidemics. Every attention was paid to both invited guests and to strangers passing through the village at the time of a feast. In the case of a large number of visitors being in the village, each family would be bound, by direction of the chief, to take one or more pigs, with a certain defined quantity of taro or bananas. This would be collected together and given to the visitors with complimentary speeches apologising that they had so little to give. The people of the village then left their visitors to divide the food amongst themselves. To look on while their guests were eating would be equivalent to begging a portion and considered to be very bad manners indeed. Should any of the visitors think that his portion was not in proportion to his rank, he would stand up and ask for more, and this also would often be done by a stranger who might be passing through the village at the time that the food was being divided. When a pig was cut up, a part of the back was considered the prime portion and was always given to the person of highest rank. In the case of some villages that were the vanguard in war, the pig's head was always claimed by them as their share. The implement used in carving was a bamboo knife, with which they were very expert. A rib of the cocoa-nut leaflet was used as a fork in taking up portions of the made dishes. Samoans did not consider it any breach of good manners to fill their mouths as full as possible whilst they were eating. Men and women always ate together. I know of no example of people with a perverted taste causing them to eat articles rejected by others. The great irregularity in their habits, being one day satiated and the next hungry, caused a good deal of dyspepsia and stomach complaints, but on the whole the Samoan had plenty to eat, and as a rule he usually had good food.

It may appear rather suggestive to give an account of cannibalism in the same chapter in which I describe the food and modes of cooking used by the respective peoples. It appears, however, to be the most suitable place to record my opinion that I do not accept the theory which tries to account for cannibalism on the grounds of the scarcity of animal food. Whatever may be the case in other lands, I am quite satisfied that amongst the Melanesians whom I have known the custom did not originate from that reason. There is something so repulsive to us in the idea of cannibalism, that most people, I think, picture the people who indulge in it as being particularly ferocious and repulsive. The fact is that many of them are no more ferocious than other races who abhor the very idea of eating the human body. Many cannibals, indeed, are very nice people, and, except on



Women cooking Food at Kiriwina, S.E. New Guinea.

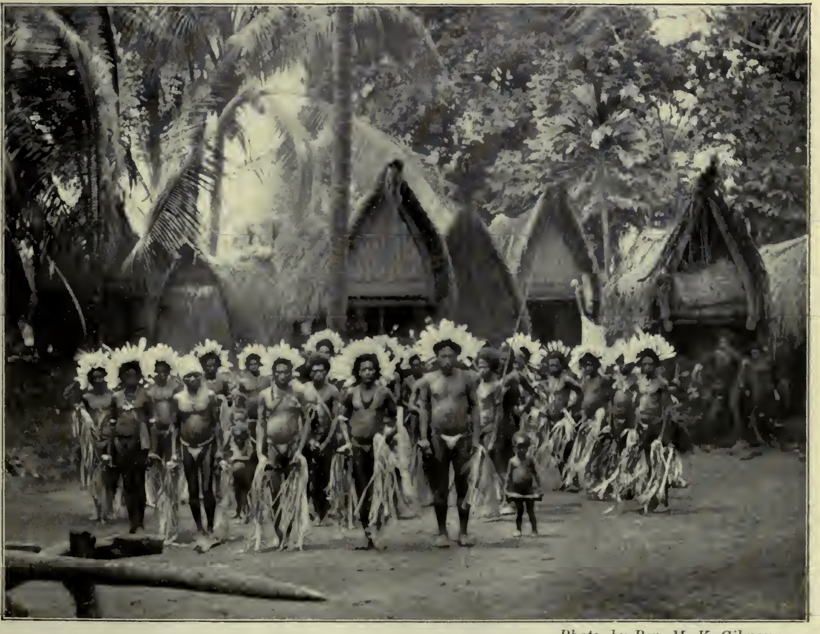
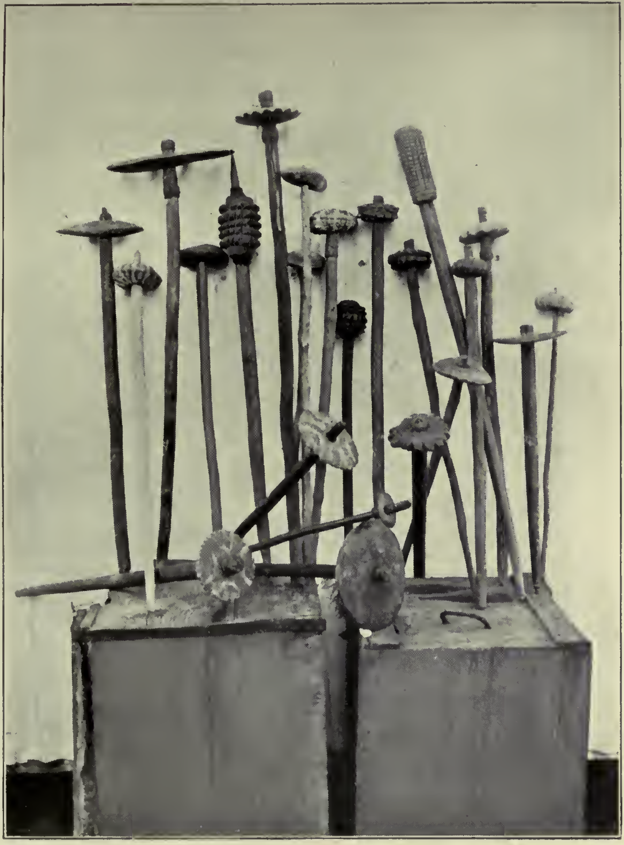


Photo. by Rev. M. K. Gilmour.

Dance at Yam Harvest Festival, Kiriwina, S.E. New Guinea.

very special occasions, there is no apparent difference between them and non-cannibal tribes. I believe that cannibalism, so far from arising from a scarcity of animal food, is generally a semi-sacred rite, and in most cases is practised to discharge an obligation to the spirits of the dead. For instance, A, B, and C represent three villages which may be comparatively near to each other, but which have no tribal connection. Supposing that a man belonging to A is killed by people belonging to B, the friends of the murdered man at A will leave his house standing and will keep it in repair; the murdered man's spears and tomahawk are placed in the house; a *dead* tree (*ragan*) is placed near the house and a small platform is made on the branches. Whenever the family have a feast or anything good to eat, a small portion is put upon the platform on the *ragan* for the spirit of the dead man, who is supposed still to be near. The people at A are continually on the look-out for a man belonging to B. But supposing a long time has elapsed, and they have not been able to secure a man from B, but they hear that B and C have been fighting, and that the people of C have killed and secured a man from the town B, the family at A will go to the village and purchase the whole or a portion of the man from B who had been killed by them. They will then take this portion, or the whole, back to A, where all the family, men, women, and children, will be gathered together, and a small portion of the body which has been purchased from C will be placed in the hand of each. Then the head of the family will make some remarks, and at a given signal all will swallow the piece of the body which has been given to them. Another portion will be put on the *ragan* as an offering to the spirit of the murdered man. After this they will beat the bushes, shout and make all kinds of noises to drive away the spirit. They will then pull up the *ragan* and throw it in the direction of the village of the recently-eaten man. After this they will pluck up the spear, take down the tomahawk, and let the house go to ruins. The meaning of it all is that they have now discharged all obligations to the spirit of their murdered relative: they have taken care of his house; they have provided him with food; they have finished up by giving him a piece of a man from the village which caused his death, and now they want to get rid of him. There is always a distinction made between the platform which is erected for the spirit of a man who was killed in a fight and that of a man who had died from any other cause. In the case of a man who was killed the platform is put on a dead tree (*ragan*), but in the case of a man who has died the tree on which the platform is erected is a living one (*kiwai* or *buturu*), but I do not know the reason for the distinction. That this sense of obligation to the dead relative is the principal reason for cannibalism is, in my opinion, confirmed by several other examples. A man of Molot said to me: "Suppose my brother is killed by Outam (a neighbouring village), by and by I hear of some Outam man killed by another tribe. I go and buy a piece of the body and place it in my dead brother's house as an offering to him." Another man said: "My brother or friend is killed. I wait and watch until we get one of those who killed him, and then we carry the dead body through the village and introduce him mockingly to all: 'See, sir, this is So-and-so's house. Look, sir,



New Guinea Stone Clubs.

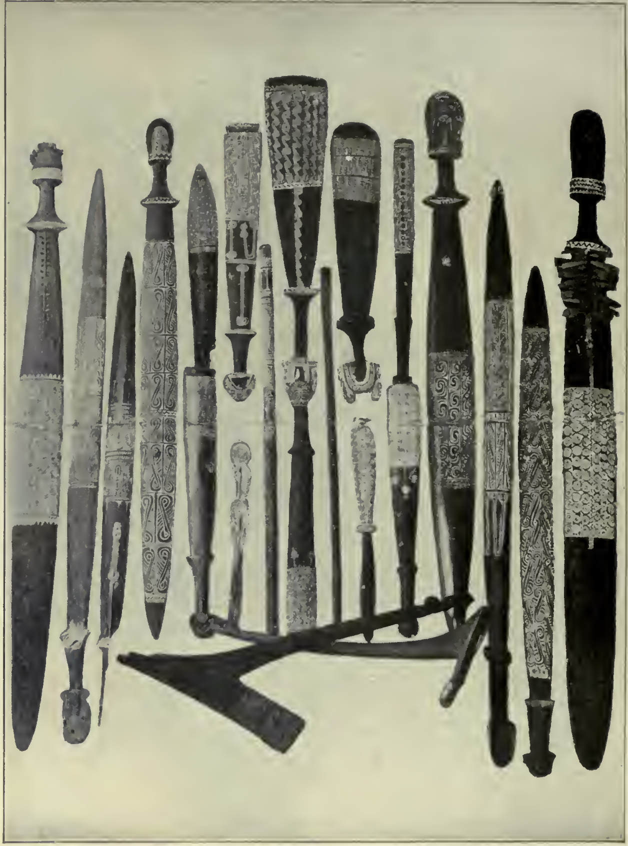


Photo. by Rev. S. B. Fellows.

Wooden Carved Clubs, Kiriwina, S.E. New Guinea.

this is So-and-so's canoe. Look again, sir, where the man lived that your people killed.'" In another instance the man was taken to the village alive. He was tied up and addressed: "You are the man who killed So-and-so; you are the man who ate So-and-so. Now we will eat you, we will pay you back." They then show him the house, grounds, property, etc., of the man who was killed. He will answer back admitting or denying the accusation that he or his immediate relatives were concerned. If he denies his own personal participation in the killing, sometimes a friend of his will give a large basket of *diwara* and ransom him. This would, of course, be paid back to him by the friends of the ransomed man. It will be seen from these instances that, whilst the sense of obligation is perhaps the true motive, yet the feeling of revenge is also strong. They have a special name, *wekal*, for the spears and weapons placed at the tomb of a man killed in war by his relatives, to signify that he will be avenged. If the war party was unsuccessful the weapons were placed on the grave again. In some cases a man does not bathe or wash until his revenge is satisfied. Kababiai ate the hair, insides, and excrement of a man from a neighbouring village, Outam, who had killed several of their relatives. I do not think that the New Britain people ever practised cannibalism for the purpose of acquiring part of the valour of the person eaten. In the instances which I have given I have spoken more particularly of individual cases as illustrating what I believe to be the fundamental reason for the practice; but when in war, or by some treacherous ambush, a number of people were killed, then the proceedings would be more like that of a feast, as all of them, men, women, and children, would be cooked. I never heard of any slaves being kept or selected for cannibalistic purposes. All parts of the body were eaten, but the hands and breasts of women were esteemed the choice parts. Some bones were kept to be used as weights on the end of the spears. Skulls were put on a dead branch of a tree and placed either on the beach or near the house of the person who had killed them. On the piece of land on which I lived in Port Hunter there were seven of these ghastly objects placed at a short distance from my house. I wanted to get rid of them, but judged it expedient to leave them alone, for fear the people might be angry if I took them down and replace them by putting up my own skull instead of them. However, after some months we managed to let one or two fall down, and as the natives did not appear to trouble about them, the others soon followed. Jawbones of people who are eaten were always kept as trophies. In one house on New Ireland I counted thirty-five jawbones suspended from the battens, and there were many more in other houses in the same village. I never heard of any sacrifices being made to a god or spirits other than I have mentioned to the manes of their own relatives.

In South-Eastern New Guinea, where reputed witches abound, they are said to eat the bodies of the dead. Rev. W. E. Bromilow, writing from Dobu, said:

> We have often heard reports of evil spirits and witches eating dead bodies, but thought them exaggerated. However, there is apparently a clear case on the spot. An old woman died in one of the villages near us, and a week or two after a most horrible report was circulated. The grave had been disturbed, and on inquiry it had been found that

the deceased woman's own sister had taken up the body, and with some of her fellow-witches had partaken of a cannibal feast. Some of her male relations wished to strangle her right off and throw her into the sea, but our presence prevented them and she was allowed to go away to a yam plantation. She herself denied the story, but when a Government officer took evidence on the case, he opened the grave and found that the body had been removed. There is certainly real horror at the affair in the minds of many, and as soon as the report began to get about, no one would eat from any pot she had been boiling, and many would not even touch any fruit or other edible she had handled. In consequence of her horrible conduct she was made *tabu* or sacred from touch.

The human body is cooked in the usual cooking-place. Pig is forbidden to be cooked in an oven common to the family, because the flesh of the pig is forbidden to the members of the Iniat Society; but this does not apply to a man killed, so that the body may be cooked in the ordinary oven. No special vessels or implements are used, and either sex may eat it. Sometimes a piece of human flesh is called *a pakana pika*, *i.e.* a piece of animal. They also speak in a jocular way of a fat man as *i laruan*, *i.e.* good for eating; but with all this there is still a difference recognised by them between the eating of the human body and that of any other animal. For instance, the man who is cutting up a body will tie something over his mouth and nose during the operation, *i.e.* to keep the spirit of the dead man from entering into him. For the same reason, when a body is being eaten the doors of the houses are shut and afterwards the people all shout, blow horns, shake spears, etc., to frighten away the ghost or ghosts of the man or men they have eaten.

In the Shortlands group, Solomon Islands, there is a small rocky islet in the port to which the natives take any person they may capture and kill him there. They do not like to kill any one in the village for fear of the spirit of the dead man making trouble afterwards. Many of the people also on Duke of York Island were very frightened when a human body was being cooked, and would not go and look at the body, and many also, especially girls and boys, refused to eat it. If a boy was frightened, his parents would sometimes take him to look at the dead body in order to inspire fear and caution lest he himself should be like it some day. Their language contains separate words for a corpse (*minat*), and for a body to be eaten (*wirua*). One of the most abusive words which can be used is to designate a man by the latter term, *a wirua ba*. We had plenty of illustrations of cannibalism in the early days when I lived in New Britain. Four of my own party were killed and eaten, and the chief who was the principal perpetrator of the act sent a message to inform me that he fully intended to have me at no very distant date as "kitchen" to a lot of yams that he had set aside for that particular purpose. Cannibalism still exists in many parts of the group, especially inland, but is never practised now in the vicinity of the Government or Mission stations.

In addition to the sense of obligation to the spirit of the dead relative, there was also, I think, amongst the people who practised cannibalism a sense of some duty or obligation to a higher power. In Fiji, for instance, there was a stone about 3 feet high and, so far as I remember, about 2 feet wide, which stood in front of the principal heathen temple in Bau.

There have been hundreds of bodies eaten on that island, and all, whether alive or dead, were first dragged from the beach, face downwards, and the head dashed against this stone before the body was taken away to the oven. This was done as an offering to the gods.

The late Rev. W. Moore also gave an account of cannibalism in Kandavu, Fiji, in which the same reason was given by a chief for eating the bodies of the slain. Mr. Moore says:

> In the evening we learned that a chief some five miles off on the other side of the island had just returned from war, had killed four men, and brought one lad alive. We sent a teacher at once to him to beg that the lad might not be killed; and were glad to learn that he determined to spare the lad before our messenger had reached him. The bodies, however, were all cooked and eaten. Our teachers had begged hard for the bodies to be buried, but the chief said no; that he might as well bury his club at once as bury the bodies; that the bodies must be eaten—meaning that the god would be angry, and he would no longer be successful in war.

It is well known also that shipwrecked people were never spared in Fiji, for the reason that the gods would be angry if a gift which they had sent was rejected. The Rev. W. E. Bromilow, from New Guinea, says:

> The natives were wont to call upon Eaboaine after securing a victim for a cannibal feast, something after this manner:
>
> Eaboaine! U itaita mo 'utama,
> Ta a itaito tu 'ewa.
>
> Creator! Thou lookest down upon us,
> And we look up to Thee!

This was called *Bwa 'otu 'e*, or The Calling Upward, but amidst conflicting opinions from the natives themselves it is difficult to find out the reason. Some say it was a challenge, others that it was a sign that Eaboaine had helped them.

There are some terrible stories given by the late Rev. Thomas Williams in *Fiji and the Fijians* of cannibalism in that group, which are well known and which can be easily referred to.

Some people may think that the accounts given by the missionaries of cannibalism in some of the islands are sometimes overdrawn, but I know of no more sensational story, which is absolutely true, than that given by Dr. Seeman in his *Mission to Viti*. He says:

> A peculiar kind of taro (*Caladium esculentum*, Schott, var.), called *kurilagi*, was pointed out as having been eaten with a whole tribe of people. The story sounds strange, but, as a number of natives were present when it was told, and several of them corroborated the various statements, or corrected the proper names that occurred, its truth appears unimpeachable. In the interior of Viti Levu, about three miles N.N.E. from Namosi, there dwelt a tribe, known by the name of Kai-na-loca, who, in days of yore, gave great offence to the ruling chief of the Namosi district, and, as a punishment of their misdeeds, the whole tribe was condemned to die. Every year the inmates of one house were baked and eaten, fire was set to the empty dwelling, and its foundation planted with *kurilagi*. In the following year, as soon as the taro was ripe, it became the signal for the destruction of the next house and its inhabitants, and the planting of a fresh field of taro. Thus, house after house, family after family, disappeared, until Ratuibuna, the father of the present chief Kuruduadua, pardoned the remaining few, and allowed them to die a natural death. In 1860 one old woman, living at Cagina, was the sole

survivor of the Naloca people. Picture the feelings of these unfortunate wretches as they watched the growth of the ominous taro! Throughout the dominions of the powerful chief whose authority they had insulted, their lives were forfeited, and to escape into territories where they were strangers would, in those days, only have been to hasten the awful doom awaiting them in their own country. Nothing remained save to watch, watch, watch the rapid development of the *kurilagi*. As leaf after leaf unfolded, and the tubers increased in size and substance, how their hearts must have trembled, their courage forsaken them! And when at last the foliage began to turn yellow, and the taro was ripe, what agonies they must have undergone! What torture could have equalled theirs!

How many dead bodies have been eaten at Namosi, it is impossible to guess; but, as for every corpse brought into the town a stone was placed near one of the bures, you get some faint idea of the number. I counted no less than four hundred around the Great Bure alone, and the natives said a lot of these stones—of which the larger ones indicated chiefs—had been washed away when, some time ago, the river overflowed its banks.[1]

Cannibalism was also practised in the New Hebrides group, and in New Caledonia and other Melanesian islands.

The Polynesians would indignantly deny that it was ever practised by them, and yet when we examine into the origin of some of their customs it is very evident that the habit was common even amongst such superior races as the Tongans and Samoans. When the Samoans went to beg pardon (*ifo*) for any offence they bowed down in front of the offended chief's house, each man holding in his hand a piece of firewood, leaves, stone, earth, etc. These

[1] Seeman's *Mission to Viti* (1860), pp. 177, 178.

were symbolic of the deepest humiliation, and meant: "Here are we, the people who have so deeply sinned, and here are the stones, firewood, leaves, etc., to make the oven in which you can cook us." An act of humiliation of that kind would always ensure pardon, and in most cases the offended chief would rush out with a fine mat in his hand, which he would give to the suppliants "to cover over" the disgrace of their action. Many of the stories told of their ancestors, who in many instances became what are now called their gods, show conclusively that the practice was prevalent in olden times. The stories which were told bear a very close resemblance to many of the stories of giants which have always formed part of our own folklore. There was one tradition of an old *aitu* or devil called Tupuivao, who was said to have lived at Apolima, a few miles distant from the town in which I resided for some years. It is said that his custom was to stretch a piece of sinnet across the road, one end of which was tied to his big toe, so that when any traveller passed along the road his foot was caught by the sinnet and the "devil" clubbed him and ate him. This is the origin of a Samoan proverb used by any one who has passed a critical or dangerous place, *Faafetai ua to i tua Apolima.* There is also a story told of another god on Savaii who had human flesh laid before him whenever he chose to call for it. There were also stories of other such chiefs or devils, as they are now called, on Upolu, who were addicted to cannibalism, and a conclusive proof of the existence of the practice is found in the fact that the Samoan language has a distinct word, *faiaso*, for it. This name, it is said, was given to an old cannibal chief who claimed to have a man given to him every day. I cannot find any proofs that cannibalism had ever any religious significance in Samoa. There are some stories which state that people were occasionally eaten in times of famine. It is said that during a famine about sixty years ago a young man was entrapped by a party living in the bush. They exhibited pieces of coral, saying that they were pieces of yam, and invited him to partake with them. On his going near they killed him and cooked and ate him. Sometimes, to show their satisfaction at a victory over a deceased foe, the eye or the tongue was taken out and placed upon a bread-fruit leaf used for a plate. It was pretended to be eaten. Another proof is found in the custom of using terms of abuse, mentioning some parts of the human body with the understood wish that it might be eaten by some one. They had also an old heathen deity or devil called Sepo to whom children were assigned to be eaten. The conclusion, I think, is that the Samoans in olden days practised cannibalism, but that for many generations it has practically ceased, and to-day they will vehemently deny that it ever existed amongst them.

CHAPTER VI

WARS, DISEASES, MEDICINES

In New Britain there were no regularly-organised wars in the general acceptation of the term. Each village lived in a state of constant hostility to most of the neighbouring towns. In some of them they might have friends with whom they had trading relationships, but as a rule all the villages lived in a state of constant enmity with each other. This, however, was not always active, and months or years might sometimes elapse without any active hostilities. These would generally be caused by the people of one village surprising some of a neighbouring village either in the bush or at sea. If in such a case the people were in such overpowering numbers that they could risk an attack without much fear, they would certainly do so, and this very naturally caused the other side to retaliate. Some villages, however, such as Molot and Outam, near the place in which I lived, had been at constant war for some generations. I succeeded after many times in inducing some of the Outam people to visit me at Molot, and though these villages were not more than 2 miles apart, it was the first time, so they themselves assured me, that any Outam man of that generation had ever been in our village. The usual fighting-place was at the boundary between the respective villages, and when a fight was decided upon every adult male would be expected to take part. If any one failed to do so, the people would be very angry with him. When the quarrel was one between families of the same community, any allies belonging to the same community would have to be recognised by the chief who had solicited their services. In fights between villages the women were only employed in cooking food at home, but if any victim were secured they were generally the most prominent in abusing the dead and in inciting their own people to the perpetration of any insult or cruelty which was possible. All males were trained from boyhood in the use of weapons. The children often engaged in sham fights, both with spears made of reeds and with arrows made from the rib of the cocoa-nut leaf. They also practised the slinging of stones, and had matches in which their skill could be tested. There were none of the observances which were so prominent in Eastern Polynesia, such as the office of herald, privileges of the vanguard, and other similar customs. The fighting was generally carried on by spear-throwing at a distance, and in a few cases, when they really came to close quarters, by the use of the tomahawk. I do not know of any regular war-dance being carried on before a fight. The members of the Iniat and other societies, of course, carried on their incantations to secure a victory for their people. I have never known one who could be called a brave man. They were generally very careful not to expose themselves, and as a rule it was only on very rare occasions that more than one or two were killed on either side. They used to encourage each other in fight by crying out, "*Dat tamana ma diat*" or "*Dara tamana ma ui*," but the meaning of these words is not at all clear, for if translated literally they appear unmeaning. It may be that the words are *Dat taman ma diat*, which would mean "We are of one family with them"; that is, "We are men like they are, why be afraid?" but I am not at all certain whether this is correct. They also say, "*Koniku te i ruk balet u ra balana nana*; *dat tamana ma diat*"; that is, "Let not any one enter again into his mother's belly, but," etc., as above. Sometimes they would cry, "*A wat a wat*"; that is, "A rock, a rock, be like a rock and stand firm." They gave to their weapons also the character of their owners, that is, a fighting or victorious tomahawk (*kamkamiak*), or a cowardly one (*bulau*). They were also great adepts in abusing their opponents, saying, "Your wife is a dog. You sleep with your mother, sister"; and many other abusive terms were used freely.

They did not consider it to be any disgrace to use treachery, concealment, or ambush in war; in fact, these were to them the proper way of carrying on war. They thought that some birds gave notice of the presence of an enemy, and if they saw a snake on the road they knew that the enemy was already in position on the boundary, and so they divided their forces; they would not venture to step over the snake. Omens were taken from accidents; stumbling, for instance, was an omen of misfortune or death to the man. They were very particular in preserving chastity during or before a fight, and they believed that if a man slept with his wife he would be killed or wounded. They did not go to the fight unless

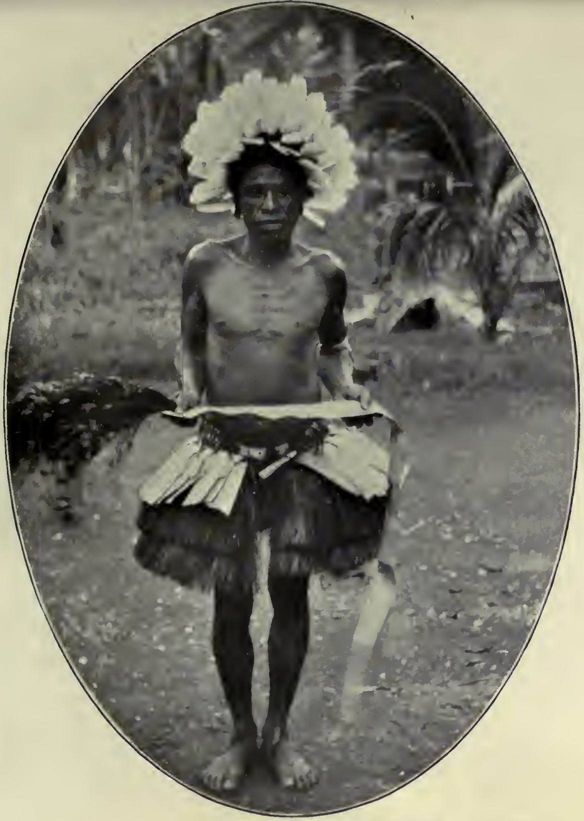
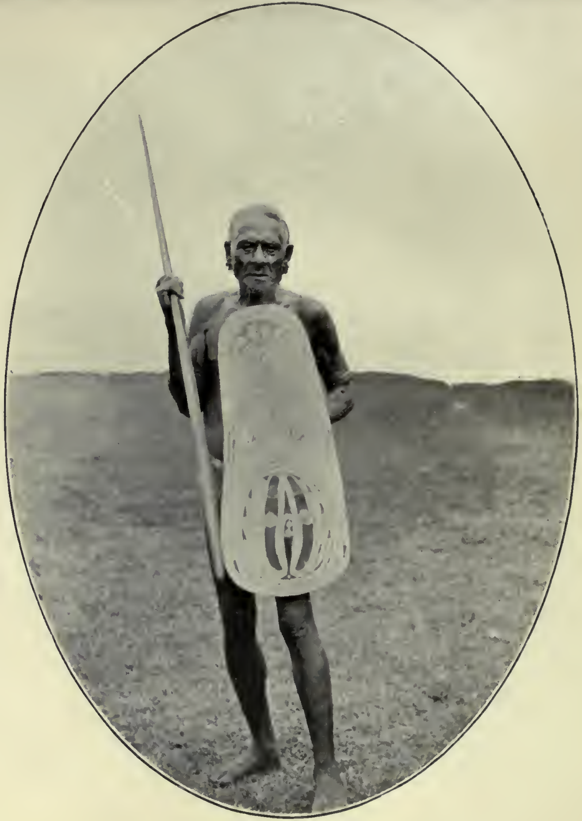


Photo. by Rev. M. K. Gilmour.

Man dressed for dance at Yam Harvest Festival
at Kiriwina, S.E. New Guinea.

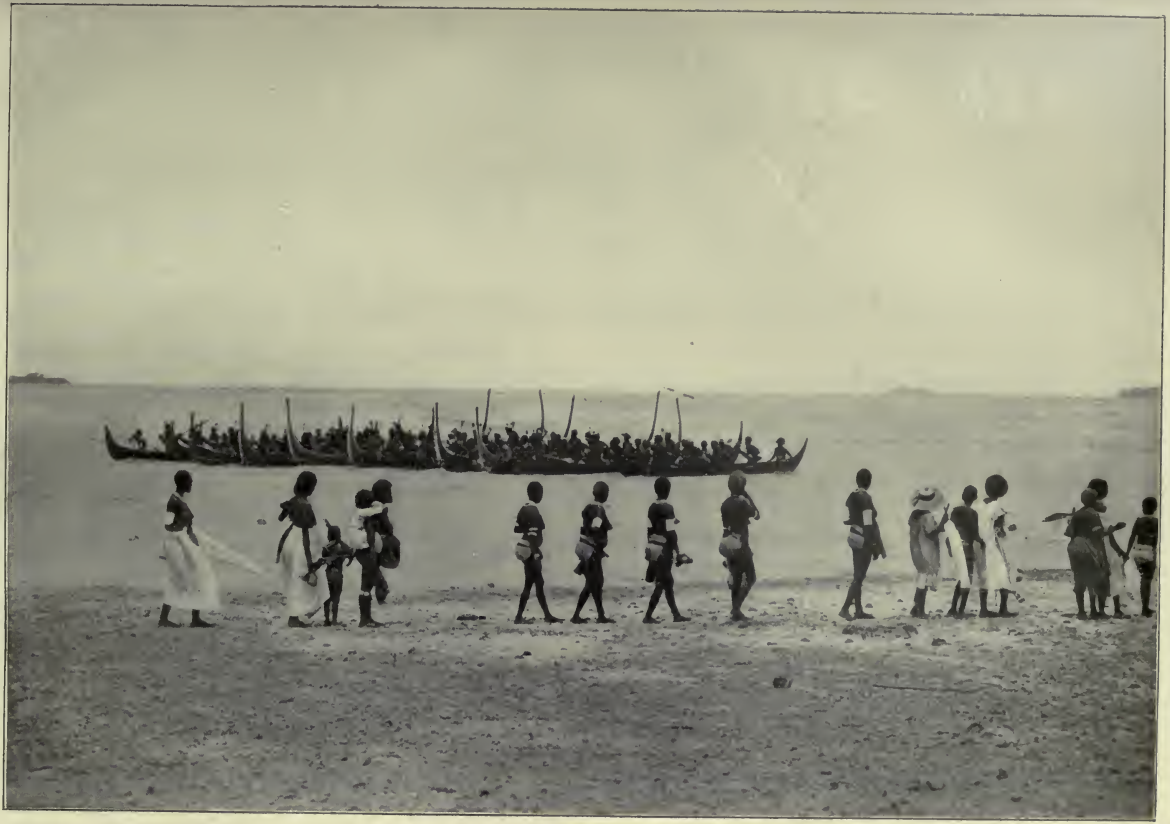


Kiriwina Native with Shield and Spear.

they first bathed and offered prayer (*papet*) to the spirits, asking them to make the axe sharp, the spear good, the stone go true. They believed that the spirit (*tebaran*) was in the spear. The *tebaran* is not the soul of a dead ancestor, but a spirit who may be either good or bad. They poisoned spears with acrid plants and also a poisonous substance from the sea. *Go mat* is the poison from acrid plants put on points of spears, also a poison from sea anemone, which was put on fresh when going to fight. I am well aware that it is denied by some scientific men that these poisons can produce the effects which the natives claim for them, and I am not prepared to assert the contrary, but the natives certainly believe that they are efficacious. It is also said by some observers that the poison is simply the *mana* or spell which they believe is put into the spear or arrow by the incantations of the sorcerer. This is probably true of some of the islanders, but I am inclined to think that in some cases the white men find a reason for some of these practices which the natives themselves never had. In the great majority of cases which have come under my observation the natives undoubtedly believed, whether justly or otherwise, that the poison from the sea anemone and acrid plants did produce virulent effects, and they also believed that the spells used were of great use in guiding the spear and giving potency to the poison. Our people on Duke of York Island never placed spears into putrefying bodies to act as poison, but they do so in some islands, and they certainly believe that the process is efficacious. These poisoned arrows are rarely used in the Solomon Islands. They are used at Santa Cruz, and more particularly on the

Island of Pentecost in the New Hebrides. With regard to the poison they may procure some from plants; but the information which was given to me by a most intelligent man who had lived many years in those groups was that decomposed bodies were used for the purpose, though whether the effect produced by them was equal to the intention of the people using the poison is doubtful. Mr. M., the father of my informant, saw the decomposed body of a bushman who had been killed on Pentecost Island pierced all over with arrow-heads. From time to time a native took one of them out and painted it with a compound of lime and some glutinous matter which he procured from a cocoa-nut shell. He then dried the arrow-head over the fire, and immediately replaced it in the body. This was done several times with each arrow. A cobweb bag was used to keep the poisoned arrows in, in order to prevent accident from any one accidentally touching them, and at the present day the points of these arrows are carefully enclosed in leaf resembling the pandanus leaf for the same purpose. The bow and arrow are used as a war weapon principally at Bougainville, Shortlands, and Mala, though bushmen may use them on some of the other islands. The smaller bow used by children for shooting birds, fish, etc., is common to all groups. I never heard in New Britain of any night attacks nor of any stratagems for concealing the trail of a war party from the enemy. The weapons used were spears, clubs, and the sling and stone, the latter being principally used on the open grass lands in New Britain. The stones were slung with very great force, and if the head was struck were often fatal. The arrows used by the natives of Bougainville are principally made of a stout reed, in which is inserted a point of hard wood, which in some cases is barbed either by carving or by the insertion of pieces of bone. After the massacre of Captain Ferguson and some of his crew at Bougainville I went on board the vessel on its arrival at Port Hunter. The natives, when driven from the ship, had fought on their canoes; and it will give some idea of the force with which the arrows were driven, when I say that I saw that one of them had gone right through the iron funnel of the galley, though it must have been shot from a considerable distance. As a rule, I think only one man standing in the centre of the canoe used the bow, the others were engaged in paddling, and one of them in handing up a fresh arrow to the marksman when it was needed. The arm from the wrist to the elbow was covered with a stout vine as a protection from the string. They had no regular forts, but some of the villages were placed in positions which could readily be made almost inaccessible. When a village was expecting an attack, large pits were dug in the path, generally at some angle, spear-points and bamboos split into small pieces and pointed were put in the bottom of the pit, and the hole was then carefully covered over with reeds, earth, and grass, so as to hide it from the enemy. A man falling into one of these pits would be impaled on the weapons placed at the bottom. I knew one white man who received in this way very serious wounds, which necessitated his removal to Sydney for the extraction of the weapons. Another plan used when the track lay through the tall grass in open country was to place two spears in a slanting position and connected by a piece of small cord. If a man ran against the cord he brought the two spears together, and, if he were running very fast, one or both would enter his body. Prisoners and wounded men would, in almost every case, be killed and eaten. In some cases, however, a friend of a prisoner might purchase his life. The women were also killed in most cases. The jaw-bones of those killed were generally hung up in the house of the person who killed them, and the skulls placed on poles in front of or near his house. In one case there was a fight between two villages, Outam and Molot, caused by an offence committed by a man belonging to the former. In the fight the Outam men were surrounded. The Molot people demanded that the criminal should be given up to them, and after some delay the Outam people agreed. The man was brought out, and at once made a rush, single-handed, against his opponents and injured several before they succeeded in killing him. The following account of ceremonies connected with fighting expeditions in the Shortlands group, Solomon Islands, was given to me by the late Mr. J. C. MacDonald of Faura.

These expeditions were made either on the completion of a chief's house, the launch of a large canoe, or the building of an assembly house; also to avenge an injury, on the death of a chief or his relatives, or the birth of a son. There is a special war-god whose name is Bakawai. When a fighting expedition was determined on, lads or youths were sent into the bush to catch cuscus. The ordinary way of catching the cuscus is for the youth to climb the tree, secure the animal, and throw it down to women below. In doing this they always tried to avoid injury to the animal in falling, but in securing them for this special purpose, it was essential that no precautions be taken to avoid injury to the animals when thrown down. Never more than ten cuscus were taken on these occasions. These cuscus were taken and roasted alive outside the assembly house, and it was essential that they must be alive when put on the fire. If one of them was dead or injured, the fight was not likely to be successful, or, at all events, some of the parties would be killed. When the cuscus were cooked, food was brought from the chief's house. Round the totem-post in the assembly house is always a small enclosure made of sticks about 12 inches apart, with separating walls made of mat or palm leaf. This is supposed to be the special residence of the war-god or Bakawai. There are a few plants of the wild ginger growing in it, called *temoli.* Small portions of the cooked cuscus and food were now placed inside this enclosure, which is sacred to the war-god. This was done by the priest or by one of the old men. The rest of the food was then eaten by the men present. At a given signal by the master of ceremonies they stopped eating, and any remains of food were thrown away into the salt water. All the men present then stood together in a closely packed circle, and the master of ceremonies walked round the circle addressing the war-god. Very often he would commence by abusing the god, saying, "Why have you put this into our heart to go fighting, so many of us will be injured, our wives will be widows, our children fatherless, etc., but now since we are all here, and you have put it into our heart to do this thing, will you grant us success and plenty of victims and preserve us from injury?" At the conclusion of the address all gave a great shout three times, and then each man placed his tomahawk and spear or other weapon inside the enclosure, saying, "This is one for me, or two for me, or three for me," thus expressing the wish that this should represent the number of victims that he would secure. The weapons remained there for about fifteen minutes, and that concluded the ceremony. The ceremony is known as *Bakawai sisifela*, this last word meaning "offering." On the canoes leaving they make them rock violently from side to side before starting from the beach, and the master of ceremonies again addresses Bakawai. Sometimes, however, the answer would not be favourable, and in that case the expedition would be abandoned. On the return of the expedition, when the canoes are within a mile or two of home they start blowing the conch shell, and all the women now begin playing, running about, and talking about the bravery of their men in coming back. As the canoes approach the shore they are again made to rock violently from side to side, and the master of ceremonies again addresses Bakawai, usually saying, "Well, we have done what you wanted us to do, and we have killed so many men, and hope you are satisfied." Generally several old men have been left behind in the village, and these will come down and abuse the returning warriors, asking them what they mean by coming back, calling them brave men in sarcasm, and telling them to go back again, that they are not wanted here. Then they condescend to ask how many men they have killed, and on being told, they usually say, "Now you may land." On landing, the men rush round the assembly house, wailing and shouting, and then bananas are brought out, roasted and pounded up in large mortars. Each man eats a small portion of this, and then proceeds to the Bakawai's house or



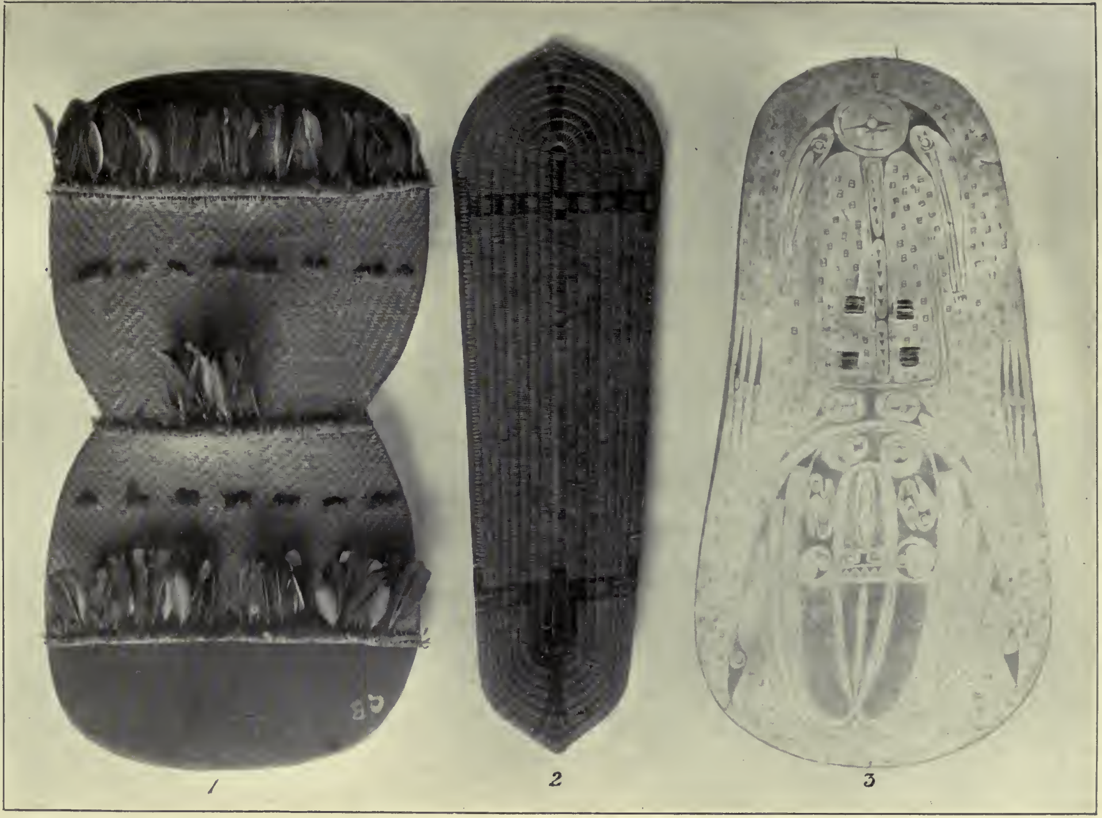
Women, with Presents, meeting the Fleet of War-Canoes returning from a Raid, Ruviana, Solomon Islands.

shrine, and either holds up his tomahawk or spear or places it inside for a few moments, saying, "Now I have got one victim or two or three, and I hope you are satisfied at this, and that you will always give me the same success." The tomahawks are then placed in the assembly house. In the one at Maleai thirty-two were counted. The tomahawks may be left there permanently, or the owner of any weapon is at liberty to take it away in a short time. Sometimes a man will make a sham tomahawk of wood, and leave it there, taking away his own. The men may now, and not till now, return to their homes. Death by fighting is always considered the most honourable death that a man can die, and bravery is very much appreciated by them. The natives of Bougainville and Bouka Islands do not use shields in fighting, and they ridicule those who use them. If Alu and Ruviana canoes are fighting, the Alu natives contend that the advantage is on their side, as only one or two men stand up and use the bow whilst the others paddle. In the Ruviana canoe, on the contrary, each man uses his shield, and so having only one hand to paddle the canoe he is in the opinion of the Alu men at a great disadvantage. Then in fighting on land, the Alu man uses his bow and arrows, and places his tomahawk and spear in the ground beside him. He is thus enabled to attack his enemy at long range, and then throwing away his bow will come to close quarters, using both hands; and, as he states, the shield is often of very little use against the tomahawk and spear. The flight of arrows may be put down at about 200 yards, but the effective range is not more than half that at the most. At 30 to 40 yards they can shoot with great accuracy.

The ordinary fighting arrow is of pointed hard wood, but a warrior always carries two or three arrows with barbed bone points, which he only uses at close quarters, and when he is comparatively certain of his aim.

These head-hunting expeditions are now forbidden by the Government, but I witnessed the return of one of them a few years ago, and wrote the following account of it at the time in my diary:—

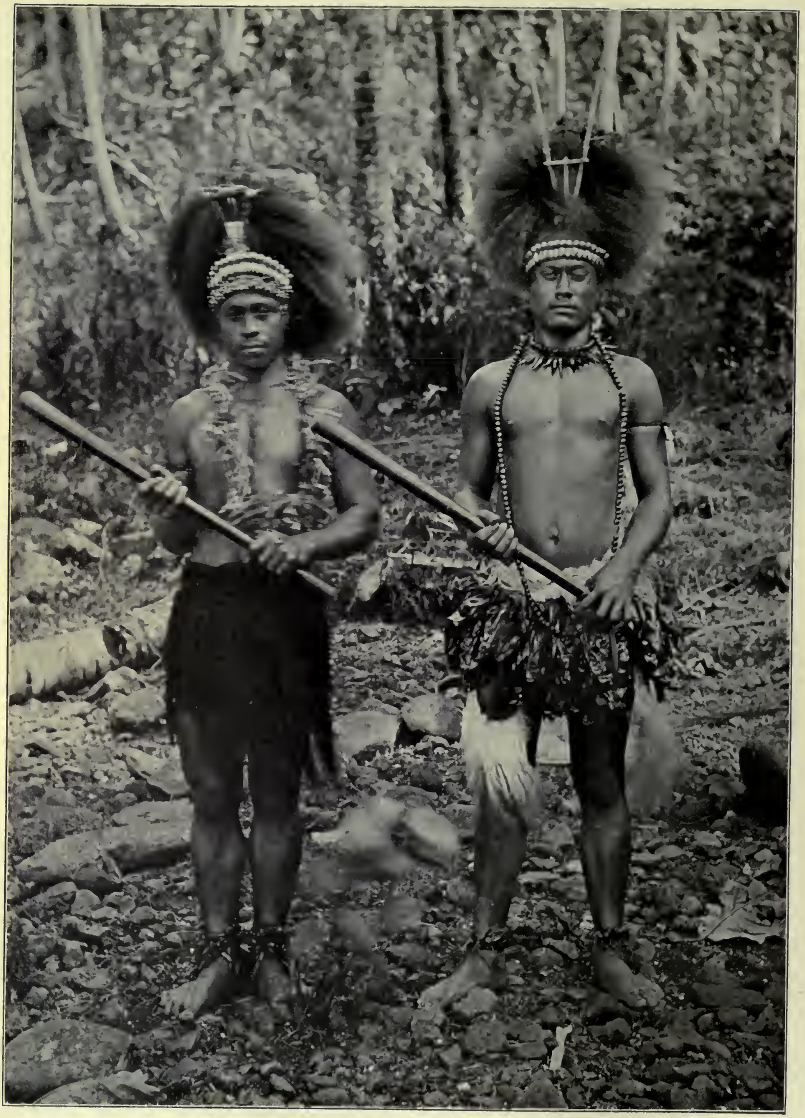
On Saturday, 2nd September, we saw a number of war canoes (*tomakos*) which had returned from the raid on Choiseul. They had spent some little time at Tatapuraka, where the principal chiefs, Ingava and Gemu, lived. A large feast was held there, and also a dance on the previous evening. As they came in column up to the island of Nusa Songa they presented a very fine sight. The natives pulled with varying strokes, evidently changing at a given signal made by a sudden dash and splash from the steersman's paddle. They passed close to the island of Nusa Songa on which we were, and we managed to get a few photographs as they passed. After breakfast we started for the village of Parramatta, where we knew they had to call. On our way the *tomakos* passed quite close to us, and the men landed at a point on the shore to bathe and decorate themselves, whilst we went on to the village and waited. We found the whole village *en fête*. The women were all dressed out, many of them with their faces marked with lime and other so-called decorations. Some had their arms filled with shell rings (*hokata*), and other valuables which were brought out for the occasion. Then the flotilla came on in line abreast. It was evidently their great day, and they were prepared to make the most of it. I could quite imagine what were the feelings of some of the old hands who would remember the days gone by, when they used to return with the smoked heads of their slaughtered foes to be placed as trophies in sacred houses. This must have



Shields: (1) Port Moresby, New Guinea. (2) Ruviana, Solomon Islands. (3) Kiriwina, S.E. New Guinea.

seemed somewhat tame to them, as no heads were secured, but to us it was a fine sight. Every little while the canoes were stopped, and the men went through exercises or drill with their shields (*lave*) and tomahawks. At some signal they simultaneously placed their shields all in line along the gunwales of the *tomakos*; at another signal the shields were lifted a little higher, whilst the men crouched down behind them; then again they all sprang upright, and with loud cries held their shields in front facing the land, and then in an instant they swung round and faced the other side, brandishing their tomahawks at the same time. After this they slowly advanced until they got near to the village, when a long line of women appeared on the shore carrying a number of puddings and small articles in their hands, and each poising in a warlike attitude a stem of the wild ginger, which I presume took the place of a spear. They passed slowly down the beach to meet the advancing flotilla, whilst they replied to each shout or yell which came from the men on board the canoes. Then some one on board made a speech, which appeared to me to be descriptive of the villages which they had fought and of the number of people which had been killed. At the end of each sentence there was a united shout from the warriors, and this was answered by the people on the shore. The women placed their offerings on some rocks on the beach, and then a number of men came also in line, bringing a lot of tobacco, which I presume was given to some of the chiefs on shore, because soon after this one of the chiefs approached the fleet and threw an armlet into the water. Others threw some rings and tobacco, and these were eagerly seized by some of the men. They then disembarked, and as they reached the shore they marched in single file up to the grave of Mia's father, on which each man laid an offering. These were of no great value, in fact it seemed more a matter of form than anything else, but it was evidently very important to them. The offerings consisted of a betel-nut, a leaf, or anything indeed which they had picked up from the canoes. It was a curious sight to see them all engaged in this, which was evidently an act of ancestor worship. We went to look at the place afterwards, and found simply a heap of stones with two small triangular boxes, which evidently were put there to protect the skull of the chief when it was originally placed there, lots of skulls of turtles, some old rings, etc. In front there were the ashes of a fire on which they had cooked food for the spirit before starting on the expedition to ask for his protection. Now they presented their offerings. They were very small and of no value, but they had discharged a duty.

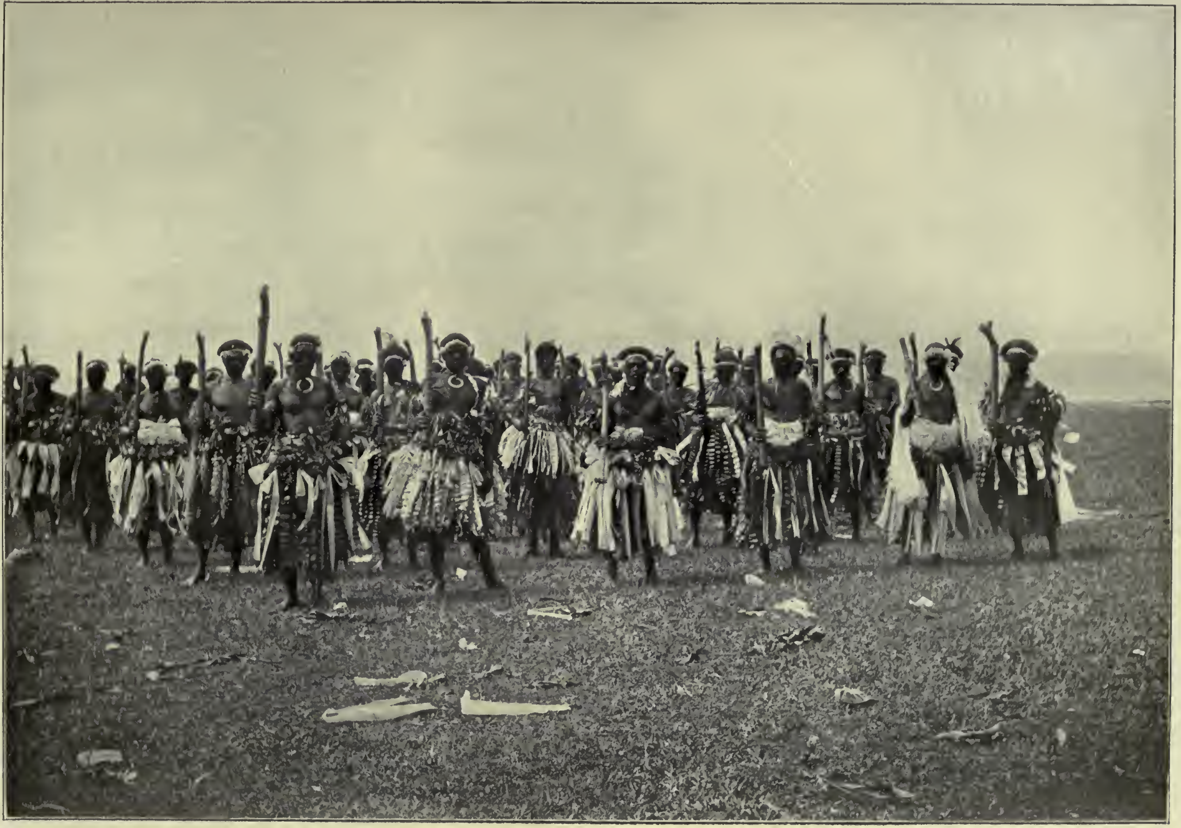
In Samoa war was a much more serious matter, as although it often began by a quarrel between neighbouring districts, it generally extended over the principal parts of the group, owing to the intimate family relationships existing. There were no regularly enlisted warriors, as all adult males were supposed to take part without any reserve. As soon as a young man was tattooed he was presumed to be able to fight, and as a matter of fact he was always ready to do so. No musters were kept, but each village looked out for any absentees. There were no permanent organisations for war during peace; in fact, any movement of that kind would immediately be regarded as a declaration of war. The warriors had no special training beforehand except at club contests at the public games, at which they fought with clubs made from the stalk ends of the cocoa-nut leaves. The warriors were brought together by messengers or heralds sent from the ruling town to each village of the district, or if to an allied district the messenger was sent to the ruling town in that district, who again communicated their decision by their own heralds to their respective villages. War was not proclaimed except



Two Samoan Warriors.

by the preparations made, and sometimes by surprising and killing some one belonging to the opposite party. War councils were composed of all the heads of families, each of whom sat with his own people in his appointed place in the *malae*. There was a regularly prescribed order of speech on these occasions, and one speaker only was chosen to speak for each village in the appointed order.

No regular leaders were appointed for the whole party. Each chief took the lead in his own troop, and the older chiefs sat in council and decided on certain movements. The only dress worn was the *malo*, a small strip of stuff passing between the legs, and a very small girdle of leaves. The young chiefs were distinguished by a head-dress of false brown hair (*tuinga*). Some emblems were worn by privileged parties. One of these consisted in the whole body being painted jet black with lamp-black and oil. Another man wore a number of empty cocoa-nut shell water-bottles round his loins, so that they rattled as he danced about. The man who killed one of these had the right to make use of his emblem. The chiefs had messengers who sometimes carried messages for them. But the regular channels were the messengers from the ruling towns. Their authority was derived from the senders. Each ruling district had a name for its herald or messenger, and he or they were never called by any other name. No one would say, for instance, that a messenger had come with a command or request from Safotulafai, but would simply say, "The Tangaloatea has come." The herald of Satupaitea was called "Vasa"; that of Palauli, "Taulua"; of Falefa, "Laufa"; and of Manono, "Maina." "The herald" might consist of one man only or of a number of men, but the one name only was applied to all. The war parties moved in a body, with an advance and rearguard, and scouts of two or three were sent out to ascertain the position of the enemy. When the vanguards of two troops met for the first time in the war they always spoke to each other. One man would call out as soon as the opposing party was seen, "*Aiga matavao*" ("You there, the eyes of the forest"). The other party would answer, "Yes," or "It is I." The first speaker would then ask, "Who are you?" If the reply was, say, "Saleaula," and the challenging party wished to fight that town, they would pass on to the other observances; but if they did not wish to fight Saleaula they would answer and say, "Go ye and seek your appointed guests (opponents), but where is Safune? Tell them to come." The Saleaula troop would at once return, and on doing so the question would immediately be asked, "Who are wanted?" and when the reply was Safune the troops from that town would at once leap up and go with all speed to the boundary, for a challenge of that kind was always accepted. When they got there, there would be a little more talk, and then one would step out to the opposite party and present a piece of *'ava*, saying, "This is for you chiefs and warriors to drink." He would use the most polite words in the language when doing this. This would be received with thanks, and a man from the party to whom the *'ava* had been presented would then take a similar piece and present it to their opponents, also using the same polite terms. After this, if they decided to fight at once, one of them would say, "Well! let us trample the grass, and may we both be equally successful." If, however, they did not wish to fight at that time because it was near dark, or for some other reason, one of them would ask what was the wish of the opposite party as to the time of commencing hostilities, and the other would reply, "It is not for us to speak of such things in the presence of chiefs and warriors such as you." And this argument would go on often for a very long time, neither side wishing to appear to assume the position of dictating to the other. Some chance expression as to the nearness of sunset would often give the opportunity of ending the discussion, and one would say, "Well, if that is your mind, then we will trample the ground to-morrow." The two parties would lie quite close to each other, but without the slightest fear of treachery. These interchanges of courtesy, however, were only used in the beginning of hostilities, for after the fight was commenced they used to each other the most scurrilous language which was possible. One party would call out to the other as though they were pigs, and offering to feed them with cocoa-nuts. Imprecations and abusive terms were freely used, such as, "May your friends be consumed by Moso. May you cocoa-nut-eating things that wish to be thought men have your tongues cut out. Where is that Savaii pig, that I may kill him?" etc. There was no regular formation in camp or on the line of march. Huts were made of boughs of trees or cocoa-nut leaves placed without any order, but advantage was always taken of a stone wall or tree to screen them from harm. Battles were planned beforehand, and the position of each district was marked out. They had no order of battle, and each man fought how and where he thought best. His one great object was not merely to kill an opponent, but to secure his head also. The women, who were the camp followers and who cooked the food, drew water and attended on their husbands, were kept in the rear or were placed in some fortification hastily erected. War songs, distinctive of the respective villages, were used. They always had dances in camp, but these were of the usual kind and not peculiar to war. Sometimes, however, a man would perform a sort of dance of defiance, brandishing his club, on the half-deck of a war boat. The principal weapons used were spears and clubs. In olden times the sling and stones were used, but I never saw them in later years, and even the spear and club were very seldom used. Tomahawks, the bill-hooked knife (*nifo oti*, death-tooth), and European rifles have long displaced all their primitive weapons. The ordinary fighting spears were made out of wood of the cocoa-nut palm. To cut down cocoa-nuts was a term used for preparing for war. The spears were made plain, about a fathom long, and were used as javelins. Other spears, which were made of a hard, fine wood, had barbs, so that if broken into the body they could not be easily withdrawn, and in many cases the only way to get one of these out was to cut the head off and draw the piece through the body or limb. The club was about 3 feet in length, and was made of a red, close-grained hard wood, and was ornamented with carving. The handle had sinnet wound tightly round it, so that it might not slip in the hand. Some of these, after being used by great warriors, were much prized and regarded as heirlooms, and were not used for any other purpose. The only defensive armour was a



FIJIAN MEKÉ, A WAR- OR ACTION-DANCE.

stick with which they struck down the spears thrown at them, and the club was often used for the same purpose. They took every advantage of ground or position which would afford shelter, and under no circumstances would they forsake the shelter of a wood or wall unless the enemy were in retreat. Treachery, concealment, and ambush were all considered right and proper. A very superior force would lie in wait for small parties seeking food or fishing, and would kill them without any scruple. They had many superstitious customs and omens in connection with war. A man who had committed some offence would often confess and make repayment lest he should be killed in the fight. A bird flying across the path of a war party was considered a bad omen, and if the Manono people saw the rainbow, which was their war emblem, behind them instead of in front they would anticipate disaster and postpone the attack. Night attacks were in great favour and were much dreaded. Alliances with other tribes were always sought after before engaging in war, and a district would often wait for months until it suited their allies to come, after which they would take counsel together, but each side acted under its own leaders. The great object of a Samoan warrior is to secure the head of an opponent, and they have a peculiar way of counting those who are slain, as those whose heads are obtained are always counted separately. A man who is killed is called *fasia*, but if the head is secured he is called *aulia*, and is so counted. Often when a man has been killed and the body remains between the contending parties he becomes what they call *maunu* or bait, his friends trying to save the body from the indignity of having the head cut off, and the opposite party doing their best to secure this coveted trophy, so that the body of the man killed is often the cause of several others being killed. After a fight, the heads which have been obtained are paraded before the assembled chiefs and people. I have been present on these occasions, and have seen a warrior come dancing and shouting into the public square, shouting out in his loudest voice, "I have my man, I have my man," and then throw the head on the stones in front of the chiefs, calling out at the same time the name of the victim. The successful warrior with blackened face and oiled body would then indulge in what they call *ailao*, throwing his club high in the air, sometimes catching it behind his back or between his legs, and after this would receive the congratulations of his friends and the thanks of the chief. If more heads than one were taken, they were all paraded before the chiefs after the fight, piled up in the public square with the head of the greatest chief slain on the top. In most cases, some among the visitors who were relations of the slain would claim the heads and bury them or send them back to their respective families. I have never seen any of these heads kept as trophies as they are in Melanesia. There was, however, the same sense of obligation to the spirits of the dead as exists in the western groups. Relatives of the slain were always careful to bury the bodies of their friends, lest they should be haunted by the spirits. Another singular custom was that they would go to the spot where any of their friends had been killed, and would spread a piece of native cloth on the road. Then they would wait until some animal such as an ant, lizard, spider, or anything living crawled on it, when they would at once fold it up in the cloth and take it away for burial. What the exact meaning they attached to this is I do not know, but it was always done when possible. Forts were made of stones where they were obtainable, and generally consisted of a dry stone wall of from 4 to 6 feet high. Where stones were not at hand they cut down cocoa-nut palms, cut them into lengths, and stood them upright, burying them in the ground. Sometimes caltrops, consisting of spikes of wood, were stuck into a trench or even in the bed of a river, that the enemy, jumping in to bathe, might be impaled. They built platforms for defence and to overlook the enemy and also as watch-towers. No villages were fortified, nor did they make or repair any fort unless war was imminent. To do so would be looked on as a declaration of war. There were a few naturally fortified places to which they retired and in which they placed their women and children. One was a great chasm in the mountain, *Tepa i lou'olo i Vanumaisu* (Look to your fortress in the valley which is split). Another was a very steep mountain at Lealatele. Several mountains show this use in their names, such as Olotele, Olomaine. The most celebrated fortress was a small island called Apolima (the palm or "cup of the hand"), situated in the channel between Upolu and Savaii. This is really the cup of an extinct crater, with steep inaccessible sides, except on one side where the cup has been broken away and so made a very difficult and dangerous opening for canoes. This island, which was practically impregnable, belonged to the people of Manono, and in addition to this fortress they built a high wall 5 miles in extent round the whole of their own island. In war, each party depended on foraging for supplies, and more lives were lost on those expeditions than in actual fighting. If that source of supply failed, a number of men were sent away in some of their war boats to bring food from their own districts. When a fort was built the features of the ground mostly decided the extent of the defences. Loop-holes are always left since the introduction of guns. They used to invest a place if their numbers would allow them to do so; if not, they built a fort over against that of the enemy. Sometimes an attack was made, but after a number had been killed they preferred watching for foraging parties or small detachments. It was a special privilege accorded to some division of a village to act as scouts and outposts, and their principal work was to guard every path from the enemy's camp, as the dense undergrowth in the forests made it difficult for a party to force a way except by the beaten path.

The chief causes of war arose from quarrels between numerous chiefs, rival claims to some title of chieftainship, and insulting language or action. The first war with which foreigners were acquainted was caused by the conquered party killing the man Tamafainga, in whom the god of the conquering party was thought to reside. They generally killed all prisoners and wounded men, unless some relative in the camp of the victors should intercede. Conquered tribes neither amalgamated nor became servile castes; they always took refuge in some neutral district, and after a time they generally succeeded in getting the friends among whom they resided to intercede for them or to reinstate them in their homes by force of arms. The women who were captured became the spoil of the conquerors, and were married by them.

No degradation was put upon them. Many of them became mothers and grandmothers in their captors' families, and their children succeeded to the name and property. After a fight there was no division of spoil, but each one took what he could get.

The introduction of fire-arms has very much affected the mode of warfare, and to some extent has, I think, hindered the development of personal courage. It was both affecting and significant to see an old warrior looking on at a company of young men in Tonga who were being drilled in European fashion. After observing them for a while, he gave his club a twirl between his hands, threw it up in the air, caught it again, and danced with it as if challenging the foe, and then said, "This is the weapon that made men. Any coward can lie behind a log and pull a trigger." There was some truth in his remarks, because personal combats were a prominent feature of warfare in the olden days. I believe that the wars of the Samoans tended for a long time to check the natural increase of population. The exposure in the trenches and forts very much increased the number of deaths, whilst the separation to a great extent of the sexes, and the fact that few, if any, marriages took place whilst the war was going on, together with much scarcity of food at times, all tended to check any great increase in their numbers. When the war was finished, all the combatants returned at once to their own lands, so that migration was not promoted in any way by war. In war time they were very careful to avoid all breaches of etiquette, or to do anything which might make them *malaia*, that is, unfortunate. I had a singular instance of this on one occasion. I had gone with a number of non-combatants to try and prevent an attack being made on the town in which I lived. We went in the early morning to meet the attacking party, with the hope of inducing them to return. As soon as we sighted them I sat down at once in the middle of the path, together with the men who had gone with me. The chiefs of the war party came up, dancing, shouting, and brandishing their weapons as though they were about to attack us. They cried out in apparent anger, "Why is this? Why are you stopping our way?" To which we made no reply, but sat still in the path. They then sat down, and used every argument to induce us to rise and go with them to their camp to discuss the matter. But this we refused, knowing that if once I rose to my feet they would rush past us. They could easily have gone on either side of the track on which we sat; but they were afraid to do so, because that would have meant "trampling" upon the missionary and the peace party, and this they were afraid to do. We sat there for hours until a neutral party from the ruling town came up, when we gave up the position to them. The natives still point out the place in which we sat, though many years have passed since that time.

So far as I know, the Samoans did not observe the custom of personal chastity before commencing or during war, but, as I have mentioned, they were influenced to some degree by favourable or unfavourable omens. If an owl flew before a company of Manono warriors, it was a signal to them to go forward, whilst the rainbow in front of them had the same significance. If, on the contrary, the bird crossed the path, or the rainbow was behind them, these were bad omens and signs not to advance. In another district of which the totem or village war-god was the kingfisher, if this bird were seen flying before the troops, it was regarded as a good omen; but if flying towards the people, it signified defeat. The war-god in some parts of Savaii was the *manualii* (*Porphyris samoensis*), and the people there found similar omens in the flight of that bird. The movements of certain fishes were also observed, and if these were seen to swim briskly this was a good omen; but if one of them turned about often in swimming, they were afraid. A cuttle-fish seen near the shore was regarded as a good omen; but if far away, it was an unfavourable one. A lizard darting across the road, or coming down from the roof of the house in a zigzag way, was a very serious omen, and would often stop the advance of a war-party; but the same animal running ahead of the party, or coming straight down from the roof, was a good omen. In fact, they drew omens at war-time from a great number of natural objects, and from the conduct of animals. Before going to war, the priests generally invoked the aid of the war-gods of their respective villages or districts. The cuttle-fish, or rather the god called by that name, was specially invoked and entreated to protect the suppliants, and to give them courage in the fight. The combatants before going to the fight were sprinkled with cocoa-nut water by the priest. Each individual was supposed to confess any offences of which he might have been guilty, and after being sprinkled he generally uttered some prayer for protection and success. As a rule the conquering party were content with driving their opponents away from the villages, destroying their fruit trees, and burning their houses. The conquered party were generally allowed to return, after negotiations between the people to whom they fled for refuge and their opponents. The Rev. J. B. Stair has given an account of the butchery and burning alive of many prisoners, including women and children, at the end of the war caused by the murder of Tamafainga in 1830, but nothing of the kind has ever occurred since that time. The terrible punishment inflicted on that occasion was, I think, because Tamafainga was regarded as a god, and not simply as a chief.

Amongst the Melanesians few, if any, are believed to die from natural causes only; if they are not killed in war, they are supposed to die from the effects of witchcraft or magic. Whenever any one was sick, his friends made anxious inquiries as to the person who had bewitched (*agara'd*) him. Some one would generally be found to admit that he had buried some portion of food or something belonging to the sick man, which had caused his illness. The friends would pay him to dig it up, and after that the patient would generally get well. If, however, he did not recover, it was assumed that some other person has also *agara'd* him. I knew of one case which is interesting, and of which I made the following notes at the time. Tokakup was ill, and of course some one must have bewitched (*agara'd*) him. Ten fathoms of *diwara* were paid to Toragud and to some others, who each sent back a leaf to signify that they had taken off the spell. Any one who said that he had *agara'd* the sick would get paid in the same way. The wonder is that when the chief gets well, he does not fight these men or make them return the *diwara*; but it is not so. Lots of people have tried their prayers (*papet*) on the old fellow. They pray to the spirits of their dead, mention their names, and at each name make a chirping or hissing noise, and rub lime over the patient. They also pray over a piece of banana, and give it to the sick man to eat. They also *papet* over a cocoa-nut, and give him the water to drink. A large eagle-hawk came soaring past the house, and Kaplen, my hunter, was going to shoot it; but the doctor jumped up in evident alarm, and said, "Oh, don't shoot; that is my spirit (*niog*, literally, my shadow); if you shoot that, I will die." He then told the old man, "If you see a rat to-night, don't drive it away, 'tis my spirit (*niog*), or a snake which will come to-night, that also is *niog*." As he was going away, no one bade him good-bye. It is *tabu* to do so, as the spirits hear and would not like it.

He divided out all his *diwara* amongst his relations, who will have to pay all funeral expenses, which are large, if he dies, as every one who goes to the funeral gets *diwara*. If the man gets well, the *diwara* is returned to him; but the mark of each legatee is affixed to his share, that he may claim it again when death takes place. He (Tokakup) also ordered one of his houses to be destroyed, and the variegated plants to be broken down.

With regard to the diseases that came under my observation, I did not find any instances of pulmonary consumption, though some cases were reported to me. Toothache was common, but was not often caused by caries in the teeth. All epileptic cases were attributed to witchcraft. I do not remember seeing any idiots or lunatics, though I have heard of them. When such cases occurred, the natives watched them carefully, but did not ill-treat them. The prevalent disease is malarial fever (*wawian*), developing in some cases into remittent fever. Every one appeared to suffer from it, natives as well as Europeans, though its effects were not so violent with the former. Very few Europeans escaped the fever, and a still smaller number became immune. When I was in New Britain we were not aware of the fact now so well known, that the mosquitoes were the principal agents in propagating the disease, or we should certainly have taken more precaution than we did to guard against them. Measles have been introduced of late years, and many of the old people died when the infection first reached the group. No small-pox has yet been known. Skin diseases are common, especially a kind of scaly ringworm called *tiripa*. This disease appears on some part of the body, and, unless it is at once cured, gradually spreads over the whole body. Natives have sometimes cured it in its initial stages by putting a little damp gunpowder on the spot and setting fire to it. They also rub it with leaves like sandpaper. It is cured by an ointment of chrysophanic acid or sulphur.

The word *tiripa* means to ask or question, and the story is that formerly the disease was not known on Duke of York Island, but only on New Britain; that a Duke of York man asked on New Britain what the disease was, and he got it himself, and so gave it (*wakakani*) to others. They believe that it is caused by a small parasite, and this opinion was held once by some medical practitioners; but it is now, I believe, considered to be a fungoid growth. The natives say that it can be communicated by giving a small piece of the exfoliated skin to any one to eat (?). Some kinds are much worse than others. The natives affirm that during the first quarter of the moon the disease causes violent itching, that at the full moon it does not itch at all, but that on the last quarter of the moon it is very itchy indeed; so also, if a man does not wash or bathe, it is very painful. Bathing in salt water makes some kinds of the disease very itchy, and exposure to the sun and perspiration also make it very painful. Other diseases are *manua*, sores; *pagupagu*, swellings; *purapura* and *balawanwan*, diarrhœa; *ampula*, ophthalmia; *am*, the yaws; *dadera* and *kipkupto*, ague. They generally give to these diseases the names of the spells (*agagara*) which they think have caused them; *e.g.* *purapura*, a *winiwian*; headache or fever, a *umauma*; *manua*, a *pakana*; *ram*, *pagupagu*, a *peu*; ague, no spell known; *am*, no spell known; ophthalmia, a *wekubu*, a *kubu pulai*. I did not meet with any cases of leprosy. The venereal disease has been imported into some islands, notably into the Solomons group, but I am not aware of many cases of true venereal disease in New Britain. The natives had certain diseases of the organs, but these did not appear to be true syphilis. They always used sweet-scented leaves about them in such cases. Hunchbacks were often met with. As a rule, the natives have not much vital power, and they succumb to disease more readily than Europeans. The New Britain natives endure heat well, but soon feel the effects of cold. I do not think that they suffer as acute pain from injuries as Europeans.

Wounds heal quickly with most of them, but ulcers often take a chronic form. Abnormalities are not common. I knew of one man with two thumbs on one hand, and some with large quantities of hair on the body, but they generally burn this off. They did not eat much at regular meals, having often only one meal in the day. Eyesight is good, especially in the forests, and when fire-arms were introduced they soon became proficient in the use of them when shooting animals, but were not so successful with them when fighting. There is no difference in stature or strength in the families of the chiefs or in those of the priests and wizards, and this is accounted for in a considerable degree by the fact that they are exogamous and the mother must be of a different class from the father. In some instances, however, the father communicates some of his gifts or cunning to his son. They believe, however, in the transmission of courage and also of immunity from injury. Swimming is not natural, but wholly an acquired faculty. It is, however, learned very early by coast natives. Some, however, who live only a mile inland cannot swim: I noticed this particularly in two villages called Outam and Piritop. The natives easily acquire habits which are not peculiar to them. One young man whom I took with me to Sydney readily copied, without any confusion or hesitancy and without being instructed by me, the usages of society in such things as folding a serviette at table or passing something on the table to another guest, lifting his hat to a lady, etc. etc.

In Samoa there are many cases of pulmonary consumption. Toothache is common and the teeth are often carious, and for this reason only young people were allowed to chew the *'ava*. There were many cases of epilepsy, and this sometimes caused drowning if the person was seized whilst fishing. Idiots were very rare, but lunatics were more common. They were supposed by the natives to be possessed by a spirit. A mischievous lunatic was sometimes tied up for a time, but was never shut up, as that would be considered as putting them in the position of a pig. When dangerous the family was reminded that should he kill any one vengeance might be taken on one of them. A lunatic was often ill-treated and irritated, but never killed. The prevailing disease of Samoa is elephantiasis. The general idea amongst natives was that this disease was caused by exposure to the sun whilst journeying through or working in the bush. They said that the same effect did not follow exposure to the sun at sea because there was no malaria there. For a long time we accepted this explanation, but recent investigations have shown that, as in the case of malarial fever, the poison of elephantiasis is communicated by mosquitoes or other insects. I have seen some dreadful cases of this disease, and have myself suffered from it for many years. When the limb is permanently swollen the attacks are not so violent as in the initial stages. Europeans are quite as susceptible to the disease as the natives. Small-pox is unknown. The diseases which have been introduced are very virulent. Influenza, which seems to occur yearly, carries off many of the people, and when whooping-cough was first introduced at least 400 natives died, most of whom were old people. The natives say that this and other introduced diseases always enter the group from the eastward, that is, from the direction of the trade winds. Skin diseases are very common, especially large ulcers on the limbs. These are difficult to heal, and when healed are apt to break out in some other place. Itch and the scaly ringworm which I have previously mentioned have been introduced. I knew of one very bad case of leprosy which I had under constant observation until the man died. He remained in the house with his wife and children, but none of them ever showed any signs of the disease.

Virulent ophthalmia is very common in Samoa. Many lose the sight of one eye, and in some cases total blindness results. There is also a disease of the eye called *ogo* (stinging), which seems peculiar to the group. It only occurs in young children. There are no signs of inflammation, but as soon as the child begins to sleep the eye smarts and the screams of the child show that great pain is experienced. This disease will continue for weeks or months. In some cases it is relieved or cured by taking the child to another village. Hunchbacks are very common in both sexes. The natives have very little vital power and readily succumb to disease, though I have known them make rapid recoveries from some very serious gunshot wounds. They do not endure cold well, but suffer little from the effects of the direct rays of the sun. I do not think that they suffer pain from injuries so acutely as Europeans.

The native names for diseases in Samoa are: elephantiasis, *feefee* and *pu'eia*; dysentery, *sana toto*; diarrhœa, *manava tata*; constipation, *manava mamau*; ulcers, *papala*; purulent ophthalmia, *mai mata*; pterygium, *tu*; *ogo* (not in medical works); asthma, *sela*; cough, *tale*; pleurisy, *le ma-manava*;

consumption, *mai 'iva* and *mama pala*; irritating eruptions, *mageso*; ringworm, *lafa*; chicken-pox, *tago susu*; nettle-rash, *mageso*; water-brash, *pua'i suavai*; dropsy, *fula*; mania, *valea*; epilepsy, *ma'i māliu*; rheumatism, *gugu*; lockjaw, *li nifo*; paralysis, *gase*; influenza, *faama'i tale.*

With regard to medical treatment, the Duke of York people use leaves and the bark of certain trees. Some of these are given alone, but others are mixed together, generally with the water of young cocoa-nuts. The wild ginger plant is a very favourite remedy and is used in almost all their prescriptions. Some of the fruits of vines and creepers which are used as medicine have to be very carefully apportioned. Some of the mixtures produce giddiness, headache, diarrhœa, convulsions, and temporary delirium. All medicine when administered was accompanied with a suitable prayer or invocation to the spirit of the dead. The body of the patient was also rubbed with lime. After the prayers are said over the medicine the patient drinks it, and so obtains the virtues both of the medicine and the prayers. Diseases are generally attributed to witchcraft of some kind or other, even if the actual cause is known, as exposure to rain, long diving, carrying loads, etc. The friends of the patient wait upon him with care and never desert the sick. Family ties are very strong. A man will never leave his father and mother or brothers (except in case noted below). A woman has, of course, to go with her husband. If a woman's father or mother is sick she and her husband go to the village and attend on him. If he dies they have to remain there for some months until all funeral expenses are paid and the ceremonies connected therewith finished. The sick are generally laid on the ground or on a bed made of coarsely plaited mats or leaves. On the recovery of a patient a kind of hot steam bath was made by mixing cocoa-nut water, burnt cocoa-nut kernel, ginger plants, and leaves of trees all mixed together, and then hot stones were put into the mixture and the patient was steamed with it. Some hot stones were put under the patient's feet and some in his hand. This was supposed to drive away finally the disease or the spirit which has caused it. The doctor also made at the same time a feast for the patient and his friends, and then the patient had to pay for the feast and his cure as well. They eat the mixture from which the patient has been steamed. In cases of death they wear the jaw-bone of a relative on New Britain, and pray to the spirit of the deceased for help in cases of difficulty. On Duke of York Island they often wear the tooth or hair of the deceased, and this is done as a mark of respect, of remembrance, and also as a magical means of receiving unseen power. The fear of witchcraft makes any proper sanitary arrangements impossible. So fearful were they of this that on New Ireland the men were accustomed to defecate into their own hands and wash it away in the sea, so afraid were they of any one getting the excrement and bewitching them. Some chiefs had a large hole or *cesspit* of their own.

I have never seen any special surgical operations on Duke of York, but a friend and colleague of mine, Rev. J. A. Crump, F.Z.S., made special inquiries about them, and in answer to a request from me he sent the following communication, and at the same time he very kindly gave me two skulls, both of which show the growth of new bone after the operation of trephining had been performed.

There is little to describe in the operation itself (of trephining) as I have seen it performed, the method being primitive, and therefore simple in the extreme, and the almost unvarying success attendant on these methods seems to show either that the natives take a lot of killing or that there is scarcely any need for the burdensome precautions of Listerian surgery.

The cause of fracture of the skull is generally a blow from a sling-stone about the size of a pullet's egg, which the natives, in their tribal fights, throw with considerable force and fair accuracy at a distance of 200 yards or so. When a man is hit, the services of the Tena-Papait or wizard are requisitioned, and the unconscious warrior is laid in front of him. He cuts a Y-shaped incision over the seat of the fracture and dissects back the scalp from the wound, either pinning it there with thorns or calling one or two attendants to hold the flaps back with their hands—which are never too clean. Then, with a chip of obsidian, or a sharpened shell, or a flake of quartz, or even a chip from the thick part of a green glass beer-bottle, he will cut and scrape the bone, using his dirty finger-nail for an elevator, until all the broken pieces are removed and a hole is left as big as, or bigger than, half-a-crown, according to circumstances. No compunction is felt about cutting through the dura mater, nor is any attempt made to avoid the course of the sutures. The operation lasts from thirty minutes to an hour or more, and if the patient becomes conscious, it is only for a few seconds. When all the broken bone is removed and all sharp edges scraped from the under part of the bone to prevent it cutting into the brain, the flaps are turned back into their places, and the head is bound with sun-dried strips from the banana stalk. This is full of an astringent juice before drying and retains this astringency when dried; the cells that previously contained water are in the dried state now full of air and the inner surface soft and silky to the touch, while the outer surface is almost waterproof. The patient may remain unconscious for a day or two, but in a very few weeks is going about again as if nothing had happened, and ready to give or take another broken head. I think it is fair to estimate the number of recoveries from among cases of this kind at 90 per cent.

The proportion killed in these tribal fights is small in the first place. The number struck with sling-stones is smaller still. This number must be reduced again by leaving out of consideration those killed outright and those who die during the operation; yet I have collected fifty skulls in a district less than 10 miles square, all in good preservation and all showing considerable growth of new bone, proving that their owners had survived the operation. So it is fair to estimate the cases of recovery at a high percentage.

But wonderful as this may seem, the work done on parts of New Ireland is still more wonderful. The natives there not only operate for injury, but are able to locate any growth on the brain and successfully remove it by trephining. A man is subject to fits or feels a throbbing sensation in some part of his head, and the wizard is called in and trephines the skull in one or more places, and often succeeds in removing the tumour or other cause of trouble. I have in my possession a New Ireland skull that has been trephined successfully no less than eight times. The cause of trouble was not found until the eighth operation. It was then, I am told, removed, and the man was killed by a blow from a tomahawk some years after.

The natives also have an excellent method of treating a fracture of the tibia. They take about 2½ inches of the green sappy stalk of the tagete (*Cordyline terminalis*) and insert it about 1½ inch in the medullary canal in the upper part of the bone. Then they violently extend the limb, bringing the orifice in the lower part of the bone opposite the projecting end of the stick. Next they tap the sole of the foot until the bones are brought together, forming a "dowel-joint," and binding up the limb in a piece of the midrib of the cocoa-nut leaf, they leave the patient to make a good recovery.

That these natives should possess such knowledge almost proves them to be the offshoot of some very high state of civilisation. In the ages that have elapsed they have lived so easily in their fertile islands, to which they have drifted, that most of the arts have been lost. They have always been quarrelsome, however, being human, and have retained such knowledge as their state of life demanded, and always requiring repair for broken heads, they have handed down the practice of trephining for generation after generation.

I have witnessed some very critical operations performed by the Samoans, the only instrument used being an old razor, and much to my surprise the patients recovered.

The following account of the treatment of cases of leprosy by the Fijians was communicated by the late Rev. W. Moore, who was a missionary in Fiji for many years, and had a very intimate knowledge of the native races in that group. The letter was written in 1859.

At Nakelo, a town about two miles inland from the mission station, lives Wiliami Lawaleou, a native local preacher. He was a tall-looking young man, and in his heathen state had possessed no small share of pride, as he himself now acknowledges. On meeting him one Sunday morning I was astonished to see his altered appearance. His eyes were sunken, his face bloated, he breathed with difficulty, and his walk was no longer that of former days, but heavy and careless. On inquiry I found he was a *leper*, and that the disease had already broken out in several places on his body. I had been preaching that morning from "Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean." I could but pity this fine young man and praise God that he had found Jesus willing to save his soul, although his body was now leprous.

On my next visit to Nakelo I found Wiliami at the teacher's house, but so altered that I did not know him. On being told that he was present, I inquired what he had been doing, when three or four, with joy beaming in their eyes, spoke together and said, "Sa kuvui saka, sa qai bula!" ("He has been smoked, sir, and is now well!"). I then inquired about the process of *smoking*, and found it to be as follows:—

The leper is taken to a small empty house; he is stripped, his body rubbed all over with green leaves, and then buried in them; a small fire is kindled, and a few pieces of the *sinu* tree—a poisonous tree—are laid on it; and as soon as the thick black smoke begins to ascend the leper is bound hand and foot, a rope is fastened to his heels, and he is drawn up over the fire, leaving his head some 15 inches from the ground, in the midst of the poisonous smoke. The door is then closed, and his friends retire a little distance, whilst the poor sufferer is left to cry and shout and plead from the midst of the *suffocating steam*; but they are often allowed to remain for hours, and finally faint away. When the friends think the leper sufficiently smoked, they remove the fire, scrape the slime from the body, and cut deep gashes until the blood flows freely; the leper is then taken down and laid on his mats to wait the result. In some cases death—in many life and health! Wiliami had undergone this process of smoking. He had taken some of the youth of the place, his companions in health, although his inferiors in rank. On the way to the *smoking-house* he told them his pitiable condition, his shame, his anxiety to be cured, his willingness to suffer anything to obtain a cure, and how much would depend on their firmness. He told them they were not to be moved by his *cries* and *groans*. He begged them to *love* him, and "do him well." He tried to intimidate them by threats, declaring that he would punish them if they "half-did" the matter. They proceeded to the spot, his companions afraid of "half-doing" Wiliami, and also of *doing* him *too much* and thus coming under the anger of Wiliami's friends. He is drawn up and left in the smoke; the youths retire to some distance, and hear his *cries* and *groans.* Some weep; some run home; a few rush into the house and will take him down; but he cries, "Kua, kua! Me caka vinaka!" ("No, no! Let it be done well!").

They at last take him down, faint and exhausted. The work has been *effectually* done, and Wiliami is no longer a leper, but in good health and usefully employed in preaching.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION

It is often very difficult in these days to find a people whose religious ideas have not been affected by intercourse with the civilised world, or who have not borrowed ideas from some outside religion, but in the case of the New Britain people there is, I think, no room for doubt that the information which I was able to obtain was not at all affected by outside influences. There was not a single European in the group when I landed there in 1875, and the information which I obtained was received direct from the natives themselves. My object is simply to place on record this information without at present discussing the questions as to how far their religious beliefs exercised any moral influence upon their lives and character. This may perhaps be better estimated when we consider the effects of their beliefs upon crimes, morals, and covenants. The New Britain people certainly believe in the human soul as distinct from spirits who had not had a previous existence in this world. The name for the soul is *nio* or *niono*. *Nio* is the root form, and literally means "shadow." It takes the pronominal suffixes, and so becomes *niong*, my soul or shadow; *niom*, your soul or shadow; *niono*, his soul or shadow. It seems somewhat curious that this word appears to take a different terminal in the third person singular to ordinary nouns; *niona* would be the ordinary term, but so far as I can remember the natives all said *niono*. This may, however, have been that we did not get the exact sound. In this case as in all others the ordinary suffixes were not affected, *e.g. niodiat*, their souls or shadows. They think that the soul is like a man, and always stays inside of him except when it goes away from the body in sleep or in fainting. A man who was very sleepy would say, "My soul wants to go away." They believe, however, that it departs when the body dies, and prayers are always offered when the patient is sick in order to prevent its departure. They do not think that there is any other than one kind of soul, but they do believe that it can appear in many shapes, and that it enters into animals, such as rats, lizards, birds, etc. It can hear, see, and speak, and in dreams they believe that the soul has been temporarily absent from the body. As I have mentioned elsewhere, they are specially afraid of the soul of a man whom they have eaten, and will close their mouths and shut the doors of their houses whilst the body is being cut up and cooked, for fear it may enter into them and exercise malignant effects. It is for this reason also that they beat drums, shout, and make all kinds of noises to drive it away from the village. They also believe in wraiths or apparitions of men being seen at the time of, and also after, their death. Animals also have souls, and all these are like the respective animals, but they never speak of them as being human, but simply pet and speak to them as we do, but with no idea whatever of their having anything like human intelligence or being in any way called men, nor do they ever sacrifice them at funerals with the idea of their souls accompanying the dead to another world. Pigs are killed at all funerals, but this, I am sure, is only as a mark of respect and as payment to those who assist at the services. They also draw a distinction between the life of plants and animals, and have no idea whatever that the former have consciousness or souls. There is, however, a fine distinction made in the case of money, weapons, and property. These are all placed near the corpse; in fact, all the wealth of the family and friends is often placed near it, with the idea that the souls or spirits of these articles may be taken by the spirit of the dead man. When the body is taken away to be buried, most of this property is removed by those to whom it belonged, but on several occasions I noticed that before doing so a few shells were taken from the coils and dropped into a fire which was burning near, also a few beads taken from a necklace were sprinkled on the fire, but I do not remember seeing anything done with the weapons. The soul after death goes to *matana nion*. *Mata* means face or presence, and *na* is the terminal suffix third person singular. *Nion* means his soul. The two words are always used to describe the place of the spirit, but they have no definite idea as to where that place is. It was very interesting indeed to me to receive an explanation on several occasions to the effect that "if our eyes were turned so that what is inside the head were now outside, we would see that *matana nion* was very near to us and not far away at all." There is only one *matana nion*, but different classes there. Those who have died from sickness or *agagara* are in one place; those who have been killed by sling or tomahawk are in another; those who have been eaten are all hanging up. I give the above information in a translation of the words just as I received it. They believe that all souls survive after death, but I never heard of any notion of a second death in the other world. I once asked a native what reasons they had for believing that the soul did not perish with the body, and the reply was, "Because it is different; it is not of the same nature at all." They believe that the real souls of the dead occasionally visit the living and are seen by them. They also believe that the ghosts haunt houses and burial-places, but only for a short time, and they are always very much afraid of them, and do all that they can to drive or frighten them away. With regard to the death of their friends, they regard it as very important that they should have the body and bury it, but it does not appear to be of much importance to them how the body is buried, whether at sea or on shore. In the case of relatives food is given for a long time after death, until all funeral feasts are over, but there are no annual feasts in honour of dead ancestors. The spirits of the dead are supposed to eat the spirit from the food and not consume it materially. They have no belief in the transmigration of souls, or that men live successive lives in different bodies. This, I think, is clear from the fact that they believe in a special locality where the souls of the dead live in a future life. They say that when a man dies his soul goes to the spirit-land and meets his friends there, but if they do not want him at that time, they all drive him away, and so he returns to life again. This, also, is the explanation which they give when a man recovers from a faint or unconsciousness of any kind.

When a man dies two men sleep alongside of him the first night, one on each side of the corpse, and their spirits are said to accompany that of the dead man to *matana nion.* All spirits have not the same place allotted to them. Those who have been killed in war go to one locality, and those who have died of witchcraft or from any other cause go to other places. They say that on their arrival in the spirit-land, betel-nut is presented to the new arrival and also to his friends, but these latter always decline to eat it, as if they once partook of it they would not return again to their own homes. These men whose spirits have been supposed to accompany the dead generally make up stories of what they saw there, such as torments inflicted on the spirit, and of some wonderful sights which they witnessed. The principal personage in this other world is said to be called "the keeper of souls," and the story is told of the spirit of one chief who determined to contest his right to that position. It is said that he cut off the leg of the keeper of souls with a tomahawk, but the leg immediately reunited itself with the body, and when the experiment was repeated the same results followed.

The spirit-land is a very real locality, and, as in other places, there is always one place from which the spirit takes its departure to it. On Duke of York this place is located on a small island called Nuruan, near Mioko. So far as I know, the place of departure is always in the west, but in New Britain they do not recognise any connection between that and sunset; in fact, they have no name for the west, nor have I heard any myth associating the departure of a spirit with the sun and returning to earth. This spirit-land is far away, but in no particular direction; in fact, all their ideas about it are very hazy indeed.

Life in the next world they say is very much as it is here: to some it is a very dismal and unsatisfactory place, whilst to others it is very beautiful. They believe that those who are rich here will be rich there, and those that are poor here will continue to be so there, but there seems to be a difference in the standard by which they estimate the conditions in the next world; for instance, they say that men who are cowards here will be brave there, that is, that comparatively they will be stronger and braver than they are now here.[1]

Their opinions with regard to moral retribution in the next world are very indefinite, with the exception that they believed that niggardly people were especially punished, and they were very much afraid of the consequences of this offence (*pom*). So far as I could gather, the punishment for this was the only kind of which they seemed definitely assured. This was that the buttocks of all niggardly people were dashed against the large buttress roots of the chestnut tree. They also say that all breaches of etiquette or of the ordinary customs of the country met with certain appropriate punishment. When these are over they believe that the spirit of the dead person takes possession of the body of some animal, such, for instance, as the flying-fox. This is the reason why a native is so alarmed if he should be sitting under a tree from which a flying-fox has been disturbed. If anything should drop from the bat or from the tree on which it was hanging, it would be regarded as an omen either of good or bad fortune, according to the nature of the article which fell upon or near him. If it were useless or dirty, he would certainly apprehend some very serious results.

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[1] For beliefs of natives in South-Eastern New Guinea on this matter, see Rev. J. T. Field's account in Appendix, p. 443.

The souls of the dead are always regarded as beings whose help can be invoked on special occasions, such as fighting, fishing, etc., or on any other matter on which they require assistance, and as the spirits whom they invoke are always their own kindred they are presumed to be friendly towards them. I have never heard of any primitive ancestors of the tribe being worshipped in connection with any animal, apart from the sacredness which is attached to the totem of the family.

The *tebarans* are not merely any disembodied spirits. They may be either good or bad, but generally belong to the latter class.[1] Diseases, as I have already mentioned, are supposed to be caused by them, especially when invoked by the *tena papet*, by the exercise of powers of magic or witchcraft which belong to him. The *tebarans* are supposed to enter into the patient, and are specially manifested in cases of fever or delirium. Nightmare is not, I think, considered as being caused by *tebarans*, but spirits of deceased friends or relatives are supposed often to give warning of calamities by nightmares; in fact, it is very difficult to ascertain precisely how long the spirits of the deceased are supposed to reside near or to influence their relatives. They sometimes take the spittle from a deceased relative and rub it on their breasts, thinking that the spirit will remain there, and when the man goes to fight will make the place palpitate and so warn him of any imminent danger. Erotic dreams are not caused by the visits of *tebarans*, but are considered as dreams only; but there is a definite species of *tebaran* called Toltol who tempt men in the shape of women to have intercourse with them and then cut the penis, or tempt women in the form of men and then injure them by putting spears or pointed pieces of bamboo into the vagina.

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[1] The ideas of the people, however, were very indistinct as to the precise difference between the spirits of the dead and *tebarans*, and in many cases the spirits of deceased ancestors who had possessed special powers (*mana*) of sorcery were regarded as *tebarans*.

I have never heard any story of vampires sucking their victims' blood in sleep, but the natives believe that the spirits of the dead return in the shape of hermit crabs, crawl about a sick man, and eat him as soon as he dies. Exorcism is practised as a cure by the *tena papet* or sorcerer, and is always accompanied by blowing lime over the patient with appropriate invocations. When a man is sick and about to die all the family assemble together, and no fire is allowed in the house for fear that it may frighten the *tebaran*. They believe that the sick man is *ongi*, that is, taken possession of by a *tebaran*, and they proceed to ask him all kinds of questions. The answers are communicated by the voice of the patient, but it is only the *tebaran* who speaks and not the sick man. The questions are, "Who are you? Who *agagara'd* you? Speak at once or I will burn you with fire." The souls of the dead are often summoned to be present with, but are never visible to the assembled friends. They call out to them, however, and pray for help. I never heard of any regular séances, but a man who prays to a spirit often thinks that he gets an answer by a chirp or a tap on some tree. Spirits or deities are sometimes supposed to enter into certain objects, more especially those in the possession of secret societies, such as the Iniat or Dukduk, which I have already described. These objects, however, are not worshipped, so far as I know, but the natives are very frightened of them, and this, I think, is due to the malignant powers which they are supposed to possess. I never heard of any images meant to represent ancestors or demons, but an old chief and sorcerer called Topolu, with whom I was well acquainted, was said to use certain images which were believed to be inhabited by *tebarans*, and could make rain, sunshine, wind, famine, etc. No one, however, ever saw these images, so far as I could learn. From what I have previously stated it will be clear that the natives believe that the world is full of spiritual beings, some good and some bad, kind to friends, hostile to enemies, and that whilst they fear them, they still believe that they have some power over them; that fire, light, noise, shouting, invocations of sorcerers, etc., are efficacious in driving them away. In addition to these *tebarans* which are specially connected with men, there are nature spirits attached to natural objects, especially to wells, rivers, pools, and some parts of the roads or tracks. Caves and running streams are specially considered as having *tebarans* or spirits attached to them. There was a river on New Ireland called Matakin, and it was generally believed that if a Duke of York native bathed in that stream he would certainly die. It was most unfortunate for us that the first convert in our mission, a lad about fourteen years of age, determined to break through this custom as a protest against the folly of it. He bathed in the river, but most unfortunately his act only convinced the natives of the fact which the lad attempted to disprove, as he died within a few weeks. It was no use telling the people about the disease which caused his death, and that it was in no way whatever connected with his bathing in the prohibited stream. To the natives it was *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* There are also spirits who dwell in trees. A man, they say, once watched one of these *tebarans* bathing. The *tebaran* took off his head and put it on the tree whilst he had his bath. The head kept talking to the body and saying, "Your back is dirty still. Your arm is not quite clean, etc. etc." The *tebaran* finished bathing, then went up to the tree and put his head on again. I could not find that they had any sacred groves or woods as places of worship or sacrifice apart from the sacred grounds of the secret societies. No animals are worshipped or held particularly sacred except those which are the totems of the respective families or tribes. It was very difficult, indeed, to ascertain whether they had any idea of a supreme deity, but I think that this was certainly the case on Duke of York Island, where they often spoke of *Nara i tara dat*, that is, he who made us or some one who made us. He was certainly regarded as a supreme being, though not credited with the creation of the world. He took an active interest in the affairs of men, and did not leave them to the control of the *tebarans* or spirits. Prayers were offered to him. There is much sadness and fear associated with much of their worship. I have heard the people say that *ia i tara dat* (he who made us) hears our laughter and knows our joys, but laughs at us and says, "Do not laugh; do not rejoice; you will die soon." There are, I think, special spirits who control wind, rain, lightning, and thunder, but these have no individual names. The sorcerers pray and then the spirits control the powers of nature in accordance with their prayers. If there is too much rain or wind the remedy is to pay the sorcerer who caused it and he will stop it. I never heard of a fire-god. Fire was made with us, and so was night and daylight. This is their regular answer to any difficult question. Ask who it was who gave us instinct? Who can tell, *ṿa ling di tara dat mai* (a thing made with us), and so if a sorcerer tries to stop the rain and cannot do so, he gives up trying and says that particular rain does not belong to any one, *di tara dat mai*, it was made with us, that is, it is not the spell of any particular sorcerer. There is no supreme god of evil, but there are certain recognised superior beings to the ordinary *tebaran*. These are called by the name of *kaia* or devil, but they had very vague ideas of the functions and powers of these beings. They did not, however, believe that *Nara* (he who made us) inflicted punishment, such, for example, as that inflicted on a niggardly man, but that this was done by a *kaia* or devil. They had also a certain order of *tebaran* called *ingal* or sprites, whose work was principally only mischievous or annoying. No particular persons were set apart as priests (*tena papet*), though a relative might receive instructions and education from some sorcerer, or he might purchase the power; in fact, it was principally the wealth of a man and the number of spells or charms which he possessed that constituted him a chief, so that the same person was often both priest and chief. Chastity was always observed when praying for a wounded man. Women might obtain spells or magic in the same way as men, but could not, of course, be members of the secret societies or enter the sacred ground attached to them. The power of the women, in fact, was due to their reputation as witches who might do harm. The chalk images on New Ireland and the wooden representations of animals used by the Iniat society are, as far as I know, the only mysterious objects which are kept in the sacred houses or lodge-rooms by these societies. I think any of these lodge-rooms would be respected in time of war, but only from fear of spells or magic which might be attached to them. There is no annual feast in connection with the death of a deceased ancestor apart from the funeral feasts which are held at irregular times after his decease. In the case, however, of an important chief they would often take his skull about in the celebrations of the Dukduk. No festivals are held in honour of any particular god, or celebration of any victory or important event. Festivals, however, as I have previously described, are held at the time of puberty of girls previous to marriage, but there are no feasts at which marriageable youths and girls mix and at which matches are made. Formal prayers are always offered to the souls of ancestors in which temporal benefits, such as aid against enemies, abundance of food, etc., are always solicited, but I never heard of any petition being offered for the promotion of virtue or goodness in the worship. Sacrifices are offered in the shape of payment, *diwara* being given to the priest (*tena pinapet*), but it is not supposed to be for him, but for his *tebaran*. The name of this offering, which is *wairok tebaran*, to cause the *tebaran* to go or leap away, is significant of the fact. The food is also placed near the grave for the spirit of the dead for some time after death, but in all these cases it is only the spirit of the food which is consumed by the spirit of the dead man. No human sacrifices were offered in New Britain. They did not wash with water for some time after burials, but used the stem of a particular kind of banana. If an epidemic was raging, say at Kinawanua, a man from Molot, the adjoining village, who possessed some spell or magic, would go to the boundary and pray, and thus forbid the epidemic coming, and so it would still remain at Kinawanua. Whilst they feared the power of the *tebaran* they occasionally appeared to have a very poor opinion of their intelligence, as a man going on the road and fearing that a *tebaran* was near him would dig out a stone, place it in the middle of the road and then sneak away. He thought that the *tebaran* would thus be deceived, and would think that the stone was the man he wished to injure.

During one of my visits to the Solomon Islands group I had the opportunity of spending some time with Mr. J. C. M'Donald of the Shortlands group, and during one of our voyages together I made copious notes of the information regarding the manners and customs of those people. Mr. M'Donald was born in the Shortlands, and lived there until his death. Both he and his sisters, who also supplied some of the information I recorded, were very intelligent, and evidently had a most intimate acquaintance with the people amongst whom they lived. I have described in another place (pp. 158-61) the ceremonies connected with their fighting expeditions, but I think it advisable to record here the information which I acquired on the manners and customs of the people in the Shortlands, rather than to scatter it throughout the chapters in which the several items might more properly be described.

The men in the Shortlands group wear no clothing at all. The women, both single and married, wear a string round the waist with a few leaves; they also carry a sort of mat or wrapper loose in the hand, but only use it when some one is coming. The chiefs on special occasions wear a sort of mantle 6 inches by 12 inches on the back, suspended from the neck. This was made of red and white native money, on which strings of the same money hung down, at the end of which two or three small shells of a particular species were hung. These shells were the special feature of this mantle. The chief's women and relatives were allowed to wear them. This was called *boki*. Sunshades were in common use.

A man and his family occupied one house until the boys were about twelve or thirteen years of age. They were then sent to a house specially built for young bachelors. There may be many such houses in the village. It is not absolutely compulsory for a young man to live there, but it is strict etiquette to do so, and this practically amounts to the same thing. A common house is used for strangers and for assemblies. On the death of the chief his house is left to decay. Mr. M'Donald witnessed the following ceremonies in connection with the building of a large house for Gorai. When the roof was on, but whilst the sides were still unfinished, a small fire was made in the house and five cuscus were brought and roasted alive at the fire. Then food, consisting of taro, yam, banana, was brought from the chief's house, and two "devil-men" took small pieces of this food and small pieces of the cuscus, and threw them into the fire, and at the same time uttered prayers such as: "May the chief be well in this house, may he be successful, may no evil befall him." The rest of the food and cuscus was then eaten, but only by men who had killed a man. It was very important that the fire should die out of itself; and if it were to go out quickly, it would be considered a sign of misfortune. This ceremony was called Sisifela. The roof of a chief's house is heavily thatched at each gable with thatch made of the leaves of the ivory-nut palm. In collecting these leaves, the builders were not allowed to count the number, as this would be unlucky; and if the number collected happened to be short of the actual number required, the house would at once be abandoned. While the roof of the house was being thatched, and when it was nearly completed, young unmarried women came and pelted the builders with cooked food such as yams, bananas, etc. The old men who were engaged in building provided themselves with green papaw fruit with which they threatened to retaliate on the girls, and so were left alone, the efforts of the girls being principally directed to the bespattering of the young men with the cooked food. A big feast was made on the completion of the house. On the completion of an assembly house or a chief's house, the war canoes left on an expedition, the object of which was to secure some heads to celebrate the occasion. If any one went to look at the chief's house, which was usually isolated from the other houses in the village, before occupation, he had to pay for the privilege of doing so.

The remains of the food left from the chief's meal were given to his children, and any scraps which might still be left were thrown into the sea in order to prevent sorcery. If any special delicacy was found it had first to be offered to the chief. This agrees with Eastern Polynesian customs where certain fish and also turtle are sacred to particular chiefs. The first shark caught was also taken to the chief.

They would not throw away the peelings of vegetables, husks of nuts, or the remains of any food, but carefully place them in their baskets until they had an opportunity of throwing them into the sea. This was also to prevent sorcery.

A curious custom, which is also observed in many other parts of the Western Pacific, is that when a new canoe is launched it is taken round to the different villages with whom the owners are friendly for inspection, and all those who come to see it are expected to make a present, which is placed in the canoe.

Pottery is usually made on a mould which is often made from the knot of a tree. The usual plan is to have a small flat stone held against the side of the modelled pot, and the clay is then patted into the required shape by a small piece of wood.

The natives pay particular attention to omens. If a man sneezes he utters a curse because he thinks some one is wishing him bad luck or talking evil about him. If a man is sick and any man goes into the bush to get herbs as medicine for him, and should happen to see a snake, he will not bring the herb, as the fact of his seeing the snake is a sure sign of the patient's death, and he is said to be *kraus* or unlucky. Again a man is *kraus* if he catches an unusual quantity of fish. Another sign of bad luck is if the shoot of a cocoa-nut breaks before the leaves open out. It is very unlucky for a man to see a land snake in the water, as this certainly indicates evil to himself or to his relatives, especially if one of them is sick at the time. If a large lizard, called *kongkong*, comes into a house where a sick man is, it is a very bad omen. No native will kill this lizard.

It is also very unlucky for a red heron to fly over a house where a sick man lies.

It is forbidden (*tabu*) for a man to spit into a fire, as if he were to do so he would soon wither and dry up.

If a man is very sick, he is generally removed to an island where only his relatives have access to him. This is because enemies or strangers might convey poison or bewitchments to him, even though they had no access to the house, as they might shoot arrows containing poison or witchcraft near him. If any visitors should come to this island whilst he is sick and a bad attack comes on while the visitors are there, it is a sure sign that one of them has conveyed witchcraft to the sick man.

A sound is often heard in the bush which the natives attribute to a bird called *Avao*, but they have never seen it. The sound somewhat resembles that of a telephone bell. Whenever this is heard, the natives believe that it is a portent of death to some one in the village. Mr. M'Donald heard the sound himself when in company with natives, and says that they simply shuddered with alarm when they heard it. It is considered very unlucky for any visitor to a sick person to sympathise with him such as saying, "Oh, poor child," or "Oh, poor man." The proper plan is for the visitor or visitors to commiserate himself or themselves and say, "Oh, poor me," or "Alas for us."

Shell-money is obtained from Choiseul. It is called *casa*, and is about 2 inches in width and 2½ in diameter. This is never kept in the house, but is always buried somewhere in the bush, and only taken out on special occasions. The owner is very careful when hiding the money, and in case of his sudden death, before being able to communicate the spot to his legatee or son, the family are often engaged for days or weeks in hunting for it. Owing to the shells being so long buried in the ground, and probably from the fact also of their being made originally from old fossils, they present quite a worn appearance. The natives will not talk about them at all, and will not give any information about them. There is some sacredness attached to them, but what it is, is not at all clear. The wooden figureheads found in the New Georgia group are not used in the islands to the westward of that group, with the exception probably of Choiseul. Mr. M'Donald says that he has not seen them used east of New Georgia, but one was obtained at Aola, which was suspended over the door of a native house. Whether it was simply there as an ornament, or whether it indicated that they had used them at previous times, is not at all certain.

A child receives a name at birth, and the deciding of this name is often the cause of trouble, as in more civilised parts. The father may want one name, the mother another, and friends and relatives another. It ends, however, in the man or woman having most influence giving the name. A curious custom prevails that when any one dies all the members of his family change their names. On some occasions the old name may still be used. The new name is generally to remind them of something connected with the disease, such, for instance, as crooked knee, sore back, sore leg, or if killed in a fight, or the last food that he ate.

If a man is building a canoe, and he dies before the canoe is completed, all work is stopped, and the canoe cannot be finished until sacrifice has been made of a human being, and either the spear or the tomahawk with which the deed was done has been placed in the bow of the canoe. An instance of this took place recently in the Shortlands. In the case of such a sacrifice being required, they generally select some one who has misbehaved himself.

If a man falls and hurts himself during the day, his friends and relatives at evening make a tripod of sticks 5 or 6 feet high, and in a cocoa-nut shell placed on the top a small fire is made. This is about sundown, and the friends and relatives then retire to a distance of 25 or 30 yards away, and call on the hurt man by name, telling him to come back. This is repeated until an ember falls out of the fire. During this ceremony the old men will be seated with their hands to their ears listening so that they can hear the spirit answering, and questions will be asked, such as, "Do you not hear me?" Then, "Oh yes, we hear you," and so on. The idea seems to be that the man's shade (*nununa*) has been taken away from the body by the fall, and it has to be called back, or other spirits may get between it and the body and prevent its return, and so cause the latter's sickness, or even death. When the ember falls out of the cocoa-nut shell in which the fire is placed it is regarded as a conclusive evidence that the shadow or spirit has safely returned to the body. When the man has recovered from the effects of the fall the stem of the wild plantain, which is about 8 or 9 feet high, is placed on the ground, and is supported by several men. The man who fell down climbs up this plantain stem, and as soon as he reaches the top the men holding it let go, and plantain and man fall together to the ground. This is repeated three times, with intervals consisting of days, or even weeks. This ceremony is supposed to prevent further falls.

A spirit is called *nitu*, but another word seems to be employed for shade or ghost: *nunugu* my shade or ghost, *nunumu* your shade or ghost, *nununa* his shade or ghost. The word *nunu* itself without the suffix means earthquake.

Death.—The spirit (*nunu*) is supposed to leave the body at death, but still remains in the immediate vicinity. If a man is sick, the priest will go and make certain incantations over him, and if the man recovers, he will say he has brought him back from the spirit-land (*iverria*). Dreams are supposed to foretell future events. To make a man dream, the priest procures a small bunch of leaves and places it under a man's head at night. The only animal which they credit with having a spirit is the crocodile, and this is owing to the great cunning he manifests in procuring his prey. The spirit of a dead chief is supposed to be nearer than the spirits of common people. When a priest speaks, it is the chief's spirit talking through him, and on all important occasions the chief's spirit is consulted by a devil-man with an offering of food. All the common people have their ancestors' spirits, and they are consulted also. When giving the answer, the devil-man always endeavours to imitate the voice of the dead chief. When a man dies his spirit has first to make a journey. It first proceeds to Bougainville, on the north-east coast of the range, and is supposed to jump from hill to hill until it is opposite Mount Balbi, where there is a tree on a steep place just overlooking the sea. From this tree it makes a final jump to

Mount Balbi inland. Another of these jumping-off places is called Abalung. If a man dies it is because a departed ancestor wishes him to go to him. A spirit may rest on a tree or rock, etc., and these places are generally avoided. Certain places have been thus held in reverence for generations. There is one supreme evil spirit who is called Sakusaku, and he is supposed to be specially active from sunset to midnight, after which hour he is not so dangerous. Fire is supposed to be a safeguard against him. Evil spirits are supposed to make a whistling sound, and if such a sound is heard at night the people in the house will cry out to poke up the fire and make it burn bright. The spirits of people who have died a violent death are always considered to be very angry, and the place where they were killed, and also that where they were buried, are carefully avoided. Only the priest or sorcerer can drive away the spirits by his incantations, but not in all cases, and a month at least must elapse before the place will be considered at all safe. There is a rocky islet in the harbour to which the natives near there take any persons they may capture and kill them on the islet. They do not like to kill them in the village for fear that the spirit of the dead man may make trouble afterwards. A supreme creator is also recognised, who is called *Tonutonu* or *Tanotano*. Whilst acknowledging this supreme deity, they do not appear to regard him as manifesting any great interest in the world or in men; he is simply the creator, or great first cause.

Religious Festival, called Viloto.—When the Pleiades appear on the horizon at the nutting season the houses are all hung with branches of nut leaves, having nuts on the branches. These are offerings to the spirits. These are also regarded as a preventive against accidents whilst collecting the nuts, and this time is regarded as the beginning of the new year. Should the nuts be ripe at an earlier period than that on which the Pleiades appear on the horizon they would not eat any of the nuts until this took place.

When a person is dying in the Shortlands the old wizard of the village goes into the hut with a long bamboo cane ornamented with feathers, and having convenient holes in it for the evil spirit which had caused the sickness to enter, when he commands it to come out of the man. The people stand outside and yell and mourn. The wizard or sorcerer takes the stick away and leaves it for a day or two for the spirit to go out. The man is generally dead when he returns.

In the Shortlands group the dead, if common people, are buried, but the ordinary mode of burial is to wrap the body up in mats weighted with heavy stones and then convey it to certain places where it is dropped overboard. The bodies of chiefs, however, and people of some importance are cremated. Mr. M'Donald was an eye-witness of the cremation of the body of a very celebrated chief called Gorai. As soon as he was dead all his people went into the house and started a dreadful wailing for him, and one of the sons went and cut off the mat necklaces from the dead chief. This was to enable his spirit to go free. Then they wailed over him all the morning. After this all the men left the house, only the women remaining, and each man went and got ten strings of beads and put them on the bench or couch where the chief was lying. This is supposed to be payment for the privilege of weeping over the chief. At the place where he was to be burnt four sticks were put into the ground between 6 and 7 feet high above the surface and 3 feet by about 7 feet apart. Then they went out to procure firewood, and in order to explain the order in which they went, a few words will be necessary on the caste systems of the group. The people are divided into "nine" classes, with several subdivisions: *Bomana*, pigeon; *Talasaki*, heron; *Banafu*, white cockatoo; *Talapuni*, the eagle hawk; *Fanapara*, the minor bird — the subdivision of this latter one is *Maratigino*, like the minor bird—*Oita*, the flying-fox; *Tafoita*, the iguana; *Simea*, the hornbill, a subdivision of which is *Semeapeka*. There is a subdivision of *Bomana* called *Bomana karo*. These divisions are all exogamous.

To return again to the ceremony. When the parties go out to obtain the firewood, one man of a certain class goes first. He must be followed by a man of another class, then by a man of the leader's class, then by another man of the second man's division, and so on until all are exhausted. This was done in order to prevent treachery, as in older days the occasion of the death of a great chief was often made use of to revenge past grievances, and this mixing up of the different classes in the procession was a safeguard against any number of one particular class being together and so able to act in concert. This precaution was observed in all the subsequent ceremonies. Men had been previously sent out to chop the firewood, and this was placed by the wayside. Each man in the procession as he passed took up a billet of firewood, and placed it on his shoulder, holding his spear and tomahawk in the other hand. They returned in exactly the same order in which they had set out, and each man deposited his piece of firewood near to the four posts already erected. They then returned to get more firewood in the same order, until the medicine-man or priest of the ceremonies stated there was sufficient. This was piled up between the posts, each piece being a few inches apart from the other, until within about a foot of the top of the posts. This took place on the day of his death. Previous to the actual cremation his face was painted and his hair brushed out and decorated with feathers. Rings were placed on his arms, and he was seated in a kind of chair. A small fire was then lit, and as soon as the lower part of the firewood had caught the priest called out to bring the body. All the women at this time were in the house with the body of the chief. As soon as the order was given these women came out in pairs, each woman holding in her hand a long white wand. This was to symbolise the fact that the chief being dead, their stay and support was taken away from them, and they required these wands to support them. As soon as they left the house all the men sitting near the fire commenced a monotonous drum-beating, to which the women all kept step in a kind of dance which is only used on these occasions. The dance is called *sagini*. Each woman had also a cocoa-nut leaf basket filled with ashes. This she placed on her head and drew the basket containing the ashes down over her head, sprinkling the ashes over her body whilst the burst basket remained on her shoulders. When about half the procession was out of the house, the body of the chief was brought out and all the men commenced to wail. The women then danced round the fire on which the body had now been placed. Then all the spectators got as close to the fire as they possibly could, wailing all the while. No man, however, was allowed to look up except in the case of a very near relative; all the rest had their heads bowed down on their spears. The relatives, women and men, climbed up the burning fire and got as near the chief as possible, some of them taking hold of the body, and all of them calling out to him to come back. They stretched out their hands also at the same time seeking to draw the fire to them, and many of them were severely burnt whilst doing this. As soon as the body began to be consumed, the men moved back a little in order to give place for the women to continue their funeral dance. These latter danced round and round the fire until the body was quite consumed. Then the wives and children sat down in a circle close to the fire, the other women being a little distance away. Then each of the three principal chiefs drew off his men to separate stations about 20 or 30 yards apart, so that they were facing each other. Then Gorai's son got up with his spear and tomahawk and ran towards his uncle, and suddenly stopped and shook his spear in the face of his uncle and his men and asked, "What are you going to do now? My father is dead. Are you going to be friendly or unfriendly? Are you going to look after me or only after yourselves? Are you going to keep all the power, or am I to have any?" The uncle replied, "My brother is dead, but you are his representative. We will look after you and after your nephew." Then addressing the tribe of the deceased chief, he warned them that they must look after his son and take great care of him or he would come and wipe them out. This ceremony or act was carried out with all the other tribes. After this all the men went straight to the sea and washed themselves to remove any traces of the dust or ashes from their person, to avoid any misfortune or sickness coming to them. When the bathing was finished some of them went fishing, others remained near the place of cremation. As soon as they had caught a few fish they came back at once bringing them, and walked once round the ashes of the pyre. Taro was brought and with the fish was cooked within a few yards of the spot where the chief was burnt. When the food was cooked it was taken out, put in baskets and eaten by a certain number of men, only the old people being allowed to partake. Then all went fishing with the exception of the old people, who were left in the village. By this time it was night. After they had got a quantity of fish they all returned, and fish and taro were cooked and eaten by all. This is called *sofai*, and the meaning of it is that the food being all placed out in the night the spirits (*nitu*) who are wandering about take the shade or spirit (*nununa*) of the food and give it to the chief, as he is still presumed to be near. This offering brings his spirit (*nununa*) back to the place where he was cremated. An interval of about half an hour is allowed for this, during which the priest calls out, "Here is the food which is placed for you, come and take it." After this interval the food was divided out and eaten by all the people. The wives and children of the deceased chief slept near the fire, all the other women were placed in the chief's house. The men were not allowed to return to the village, but had to sleep anywhere they pleased near the fire. Next morning all the young men and boys went away to catch cuscus. Whilst this was being done the old men procured four posts of a certain kind of wood. These they made smooth on one side and then they put the smooth side in the fire until it was charred. The charred part was next scraped off so as to allow the wood again to appear in zigzag pattern.

The heads of the posts were carved so as to represent certain figures bearing some resemblance to the human head. The four posts were then erected as nearly as possible in the places occupied by the four posts already mentioned where the body was cremated. This is called *balaatiala*, meaning enclosing the spot where the chief was burnt. By this time all the women had cut their hair. As soon as these posts were erected and the cuscus caught, all the men also cut their hair. Then the women went to the gardens and pulled up about a hundred taro by the roots. These were thrown down outside the posts where the chief was burnt. Next day they procured four pieces of wood, which they adzed out, and with these they made a box about 3 feet in length, 1 foot deep and 2 feet wide. One of their cooking pots was brought into which the bones of the dead chief, which had been previously picked out on the day of the cremation by small wooden tongs, had been placed. This was taken and turned bottom upwards inside the four posts already mentioned. The box, which had been painted in fancy designs of red, yellow, and black, was inverted over the cooking pot containing the bones. This is called *fruriapara*, or head remains. Then the women of the village took canoes to most of the places where the chief had been in the habit of visiting or working, such as his garden, the places where he had fished, the islands that he had visited for turtle, and at each of these places they set up a melancholy wailing and then returned. This is called *inang*, meaning going round or visiting. On this day a lot of food, consisting of fish, taro, and cuscus, was cooked. This was spread in two rows on the top of some cocoa-nut leaves doubled in two. The food was simply thrown on these. Then all the men sat down and ate it. This was supposed to represent eating off the ground. After this ceremony the men and women other than relatives returned to their own homes. His wives, however, were supposed to remain near the spot until the taro which had been thrown there had taken root, and until grass had grown over the spot where the body was burnt. On the day on which the eating off the ground ceremony was performed, the dead chief's boats, canoes, spears, bows, arrows, tomahawks, and other property were all broken up and destroyed, and the rest of his property was divided out amongst his sons and nephews. During the process of cremation, when the fire was too fierce for the relatives to remain near, they threw articles of food, beads, and other property into it. The dead chief, for instance, had been very fond of tea, and one of his daughters brought out a cup of tea and threw the tea and cup into the flames. Others, wishing to show their respect, threw some small article of property into the fire during the process of burning. No property of the chief was burnt except his own personal adornments, rings, etc., with the exception of those just mentioned. After the death of a chief, any strangers or persons landing at the place would be deemed lawful prize and would certainly be killed, and an expedition was also always sent out to kill some one. Any one met by this party, even if they were quite friendly, would certainly be killed. The tomahawks or spears with which the man or men had been killed were brought back and placed in the head of the canoe. The people would then rush several times round the spot where the chief was burnt, wailing and shouting, presumably announcing the fact of the victim's death to the spirit of the dead chief, and the spears or tomahawks were then placed on the spot inside the four posts already mentioned.

The religious beliefs of the Samoans resemble in many ways those of the Melanesians, though in some respects they show considerable advancement in their ideas of the future life. They believe in a human soul as distinct entirely from other supernatural beings. The name of the soul was *anganga*, which is a reduplication either of the word *anga*, to go, to do, or to act; or of the noun, which means conduct or manner of acting. It will be seen that this word does not mean shadow as in Duke of York Island. In Samoa the word for shadow is *ata*, but this is generally associated with the god. The totem such as shark, turtle, owl, or any other animal was regarded as the *ata* or shadow or representation of the god himself. The idea, however, of the shadow or representation being associated with the soul of a man seems to have existed amongst them, for, as previously mentioned, when a man had been killed in war or died a violent death, the women would go to the spot where the death occurred, spread a piece of native cloth upon the ground, wait till some ant or insect crawled upon the cloth, which was then gathered up and buried together with the insect and the corpse. The insect was supposed to be the *ata* or shadow of the deceased. The word is also used as expressing the idea of likeness, for a photographer is called *pue-ata*, shadow-catcher. The soul does not seem to be associated with breath, although death is described by the words *ua to le manava*, that is, the breath has gone out. When the body dies the spirit flies away, and it is said *ua lele le anganga*, that is, the spirit has flown away. They also believe that it goes away when a person faints, and his revival is a sign that it has come back again. I do not know that any ceremonies were performed with a view to bring back the spirit, though many expostulations were addressed to the dying man not to go away, but to remain with them. The soul was always considered to be of the same form as the body, and was much dreaded by those who professed to see it shortly after the death of the individual. Attempts were sometimes made to drive away the spirit by shouting and firing guns, though they seem to have been doubtful of the efficacy of this treatment, as they firmly believed in wraiths and apparitions of the spirit after death. Dreams and visions were accounted for as being real; the soul of the dreamer had actually been away from the body, and he had actually seen the vision. Visits from spirits were believed in. Nightmare, for instance, was thought to be caused by a spirit sitting on the chest of the man or woman. The practice of killing wives or slaves at the burial of a chief in order that their souls should accompany him to the other world was never carried out in Samoa. I think that the lower animals were considered to have souls, as in many of the old stories the animals are represented as thinking and speaking, whilst the tame pigeon, which was used as a decoy bird, was always addressed in chiefs' language. Pigs were sacrificed at funerals, but I do not think that there was any idea of their souls accompanying the deceased to the spirit-land. There does, however, appear to be some such idea with regard to other property, as in the case of a dying chief valuable mats were brought and laid upon his body, with the idea, I think, that the spirit of the mat should accompany the chief to the other world. The soul after death passed along from island to island from the east to the west. Those from Upolu dived from a rocky point which is called *O le fatu-osofia* (the jumping-off stone), and swam to Savaii, proceeding on the south side to the *Fafa*, or entrance to the lower regions. This is a large hole in the reef at the extreme end of the island, down which they plunge and then arrive at *Sa-le-fee.* The significance of this word, which literally means the family of the octopus or cuttle-fish, is not clear at the present time. It was the name of one of the old war-gods, and the curious stone circles near Apia on the island of Upolu were known as the house of the *Fee.* They are probably the only traces of a worship of which even the Samoans themselves have no reliable information. The souls or spirits of the Savaii people kept along the north side of that island until they also came to the *Fafa.* All souls survived after death, and so far as I know they had no idea of their dying a second death or being destroyed. I do not think that a Samoan could give any reason for his belief that the soul does not perish with the body, but he certainly does believe this, and I never heard any one question the fact. They believed that the souls of the dead often visit the living, and that the apparitions which they profess to see are really the souls of the departed. I never heard of an apparition being seen by more than one person at a time. The Samoans were greatly afraid of these apparitions or ghosts and tried to drive them away by words, noises, and firing of guns. They were supposed to haunt some houses, and especially burying-places. The ceremony already described of catching the spirit of one whose body was left in the possession of the enemy seems to indicate that a form of burial helped to "lay the ghost." They had no belief in the transmigration of souls either into animals, inert bodies, or into different human bodies. The Samoans were not at all clear in their minds as to the special locality where the souls of the dead live in the future life. The general idea was that there were two places, one being entered at the *Fafa* by a hole called *O le lua-loto o Alii*, the deep hole of chiefs. This led them to *Pulotu*, the residence of the gods. The other entrance was called *O le lua-loto o utafanua*, or the deep hole of the common people, by which they passed to *le nuu o nonoa*. This is generally translated as "the land of the bound," but I am inclined to think that this is not correct. The word *nonoa* does indeed mean bound, but I think that in this instance it is a reduplication or plural form of the adjective *noa*, meaning of no account. The two entrances are significant of the belief of the people that there was a separate place reserved for the chiefs, and that it was a material region. This is confirmed by their stories, which contain accounts of men going to the other world and returning again to this one. Their ideas, however, of the other world were very dim. One tradition is to the effect that there was a running stream at the bottom of the entrance, along which the spirits were floated. They were very anxious until they reached *Pulotu*, and bathed in *vaiola*, "the water of life" or living water, after which all infirmity and weakness passed away from them and the old people became young again. The lower world was much like this one, with fruits and flowers, and the occupations of its inhabitants were much the same as in this world. They planted, fished, cooked, married, and were given in marriage as in this world. They had, however, a power to revisit the earth again at night, and it was because their families dreaded these visits that they were always anxious to be on terms of goodwill and friendship with their relatives before they died. This state of elysium was, however, principally confined to the place where the chiefs lived, but life in the next world was generally considered as being dismal and mournful for the souls of the common people. It was generally understood that the conditions of men in this life, even amongst the common people, had an effect on their future conditions. A good man in Samoa generally meant a liberal man, one who was generous and hospitable; whilst a bad man was one who was mean, selfish, and greedy about food. I do not think that the priests had, or even claimed, any authority as to the fate of men. They were generally only the means of communication between the gods and the people. There was no idea of purgatory so far as I have known. It is very difficult to ascertain how far the present notions of the people have been affected by foreign religions.

Traces of ancestor worship are few and indistinct. The word *tupua* is supposed by some to mean the deified spirits of chiefs, and to mean that they constituted a separate order from the *atua*, who were the original gods. The word itself is the name of a stone supposed to be a petrified man, and is also generally used as the name of any image having some sacred significance, and as representing the body into which the deified spirit was changed. What appears certain is that ancestor worship had amongst the Samoans gradually given place to the worship of a superior order of supernatural beings not immediately connected with men, but having many human passions and modes of action and life. There are, however, some cases which seem to point to ancestor worship in olden days, as in the case of the town of Matautu, which is said to have been settled by a colony from Fiji. Their principal deity was called *Tuifiti*, the king of Fiji. He was considered to be the head of that family, and a grove of trees, *ifilele* (the greenheart of India), was sacred to him and could not be cut or injured in any way.

Many diseases were regarded as being caused by demons who had the power to enter into the patient. This is proved by the word *uluitino* (entering into the body), which was always used in cases of possession. They believed that delirium, epilepsy, and mania were always due to demoniacal influence. Nightmares also were, as I have said, considered to be the work of real spirits. They did not believe, so far as I know, in any vampires or spirits who suck their victims' blood in sleep. When a person was supposed to be possessed, exorcism by priests or doctors was always practised, and these were closely questioned as to the origin and the probable result of the disease. There was also a special inquiry made of the sister of the sick man and also of her children as to whether any of them had cursed him and thus caused his illness, and in all such cases the sister would take some cocoa-nut water into her mouth and eject it towards, or even over, the body of the sufferer, by which action she expressed her own innocence and also removed any other supposed spell. This was done on account of the fear which was always felt of the effects of a sister's curse. It will be noticed that the word *uluitino* used by the Samoans has precisely the same meaning as the word *ongi* used in Duke of York Island, for both signify "possession" by some spiritual power. Sometimes the Samoans attempted to expel the disease by brandishing a spear over the patient, and this, I think, was intended to frighten away the spirit which had entered into the man.

I do not know of any regular séances being held of late years, but in former days the family god was supposed to enter into the priest to answer questions which were asked, or to make demands upon them. At such times the presence of the god was indicated by violent contortions in the body of the priest, after which the god was heard announcing his presence to the terrified members of the family, and he would always be answered with the most polite language. The priest generally managed to make the god say what he wished him to say, or to make demands for something which the priest himself wished to possess. In cases of sickness also the god was often summoned by the priest, and directions were given as to treatment, and especially as to the property which was to be given to the priest for the god. These practices have long ceased in Samoa, but a very good account of them is given by the late Rev. J. B. Stair in his work *Old Samoa.* Some natural objects supposed to be inhabited by gods were worshipped or considered sacred. These were principally sacred trees, stones, and springs of water; but the people were not idolaters, and no blocks of wood or carved images were worshipped by them. The Rev. Mr. Murray, in his book *Forty Years' Mission Work*, gives an interesting account of a Samoan temple. He says (p. 171):

> During a visit made to the remaining heathen at this time, in company with Mr. Slatyer, we fell in with a great curiosity—as things go in Samoa—a heathen temple. Samoa was famed among other islands in Polynesia as being a nation of *atheists* from the fact that they were reputed to have neither temples nor gods. *Hamoa ore atua* (Samoa without gods, or godless Samoa) it was called in the ancient songs of the Tahitian group. And that *was* the rule, but there were a few exceptions, and one of these was now found at Sailele, one of the villages visited during this tour. At this village we found a heathen temple; not a great affair by any means, but still a real heathen temple. It was a small house made of the wood of the bread-fruit tree, and thatched, as other Samoan houses are, with the leaf of the sugar-cane. It was only about 10 feet in length and 6 in breadth, and so low that a man of middle height could not stand upright in it. It is remarkable that the priest only was accustomed to enter it, the worshippers remaining outside. Within were deposited three sacred stones, each of which bore a significant name. One was called *le fatu le gaeetia* (the unmovable stone); another, *le malo tumau* (the enduring kingdom); the third, *le maa mau i le malo* (the stone fixed in the kingdom). Close by was a small cocoanut grove. There had been originally but one tree, but as it

was regarded as belonging to the presiding deity, it was sacred and must not be touched by human hands; hence its fruit had been allowed to fall around it and remain on the ground, and the consequence was that, at the time of our visit, instead of one tree, there was a grove, all of which was regarded as sacred.

I have already mentioned the sacred grove (*vao sa*) at Matautu, and I also saw what was probably the last "heathen temple" in Samoa. This was a large tree at Salelavalu. There was a sacred stone at the village of Palauli on Savaii on which the natives kindled a fire whenever they wished to have dry weather, and over which they poured water when they desired rain. There were also sacred stones at Matautu called *Fonga* and *Toafa*, on which fire was laid as an offering. A water-hole on the Amoa bush road *Gaumata* was also considered sacred, and offerings of necklaces, garlands, etc., were presented. There was also a sacred spring at Saleia which was said to convey youth to the old people who bathed in it. Another heathen temple was at Avao on Savaii, in the house of a man called Sao, who was the priest, and the god was said to come to his house. There was also a large tree in Fangalei which was also regarded as a temple. To a Samoan as well as to a Melanesian the world was full of spiritual beings, some of whom were playful or only mischievous, whilst others were vindictive and cruel. They saw or heard an *aitu* or spirit everywhere. I have already told the story of the old cannibal *aitu* or devil called Tupuivao, who trapped any unfortunate traveller that passed by the place where he lived, and there are many similar stories of places which were dreaded as the abode of some *aitu*, and at which offerings were made by travellers, accompanied with a petition to the spirit. Strange noises, flickering lights, the unexpected appearance of some animal, were all signs of the presence of some of these spirits, and many declared with the most apparent sincerity that they had been assaulted and beaten by weapons wielded by invisible hands. There is little doubt also that the belief in these spiritual assaults often resulted in the sickness or death of the individuals who supposed themselves to have been attacked.

No statement could be more contrary to the actual fact than the assertion that the Samoans were a godless people, for, as a matter of fact, they worshipped in some form or other a large number of gods, some of which were reverenced throughout large districts, whilst others seemed to be more immediately connected with certain families. A description of these will be found in a work entitled *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, written by the late Rev. Dr. G. Turner. All these gods had their *ata* or representative in some animal, plant, or natural object, but I do not think that any of the great powers of nature were deified by the people. The principal god was called Tangaloa, and he appears as "the creator of lands," "the visitor of lands," "the abandoner of lands," and other names. He seems to have been generally regarded as the god who was superior to all others. Each of the gods had some particular function, and in all cases priests were the means of communication between the god and his worshippers. I use the word "worship" for lack of a better term, but so far as I can gather there was no distinct form of worship in the general acceptation of the term. There was the element of fear, the desire for protection or for the acquirement of some desired object, but for all these application was made to the priest and payment made to him, and his directions accepted as the will of the god. There is not the slightest trace, so far as I know, of the knowledge of any of these deities being obtained from any outside source. Many stories are associated with the name of the supreme deity Tangaloa, some of which appear to us absurd and unmeaning, but at the root there seems to have been a fixed conviction of some great supreme being from whom all the other deities descended. The priests were very important personages in Samoa, and appear to have been of different classes, the most important of them being the priests of the gods more especially concerned with war, whilst the others were the means of communication between the gods and the respective families. All these men exercised great influence over the people, as they not only claimed to be the mediums of communication with the gods, but also to predict events, to imprecate destruction, and to exercise the powers of magic and sorcery by means of their respective deities. In this respect they appeared to have exercised the same powers as were claimed by the chief men in the secret societies in Melanesia. In some districts the priesthood continued in particular families, the head of that family always exercising the power of priest. As I have already stated, the priest was always considered to be possessed by the god in all communications which were made to the worshippers, and when in this state he pretended to heal diseases, to drive away the spirits who caused them, and to carry on conversations with the god. Some individuals often combined the offices of both priest and chief. Special buildings were probably set apart for worship in the olden days, but even in modern times there was one at Matautu in which the priests of the family also resided. It was built in a line with other houses in the village, and faced westward. Annual feasts were held in some districts in honour of their gods. The offerings of food and property were made to the different spirits as well as to their representative priests. Some spirits were supposed to voyage along the islands, and offerings of food were often placed upon the beach to induce them to pass on and not to call at that particular place. A custom, which has continued to this day, was to pour out upon the ground a small quantity of *'ava* as an offering to the family god before any one else drank of it. As the first cup of *'ava* was always presented to the most important person present, this may be regarded as an acknowledgment of the superior position of the spirit or god in whose honour it was poured out. Formal prayers were offered to the god by the head of the family, and public prayer was offered on the occasion of the departure of any war-like expedition. They prayed that stones, stumps of trees and other obstacles might be taken out of their road, and that the road on which they travelled should be made wet with the blood of their enemies. All their prayers were for temporal benefits, such as protection against enemies, abundance of food and other desirable objects. They attached great value to confession of wrong-doing in times of danger, but, so far as I know, there was no expression of repentance or amendment or any prayer for forgiveness made on such occasions. If, for instance, a sailing-boat or canoe were crossing the channel between Savaii and

Upolu, and was in danger of being swamped, the steersman would head the boat to the wind and each man would make confession of any wrong-doing. One would say, "Well, I stole a fowl at a certain village." Another would acknowledge wrong-doing with some married woman at another village; another to some other fault or breach of conduct. Another man would perhaps say that he had done nothing, and he would be passed over. This would continue until every man had confessed or declared his innocence, when the boat would be put before the wind again with confidence that the crew would make the passage safely.

With regard to human sacrifices offered to the gods, there is no direct evidence, so far as I know, that the Samoans ever offered them as a part of their worship. There are, however, traces in traditions that in prehistoric times they probably did this, more especially with regard to the sun. I believe also that sacrifices were offered, especially of children, to one of their old deities called Sepo, and it may be that when the recorded traditions are more closely examined evidence will be found that the practice was more prevalent than is generally supposed. With regard to the offerings to Sepo, some light may be obtained from the following incident. Many years ago in Samoa one of our church members was accused of having, in a fit of anger, imprecated destruction upon one of her children. On inquiry I found that the offence consisted in her saying to her child, "Oh, what a lovely, nice child you are!" and I found that this was the usual way in which a child was devoted to destruction by the god Sepo, whose special privilege it was to receive offerings of children. There was no objection whatever to the words themselves, but when uttered in anger the reference was readily understood, and they really constituted a curse and a wish that her child might be offered to and consumed by the old god. Ceremonies of purification were practised on several occasions. This was always done by sprinkling with the water contained in the cocoa-nut. This was sprinkled by the priest over the bodies of the warriors before they went to battle, and a prayer was offered up that all obstacles should be removed; that their eyes might be bright, and that the blood of their enemies might flow like a stream before them. People who attended a dead body had, in addition to other observances, to be purified by washing, and then sprinkling with the cocoa-nut water. The same process of purification had to be undergone by any person who came into contact with one of the sacred chiefs (*alii paia*), such as by touching his person, his food, or anything else that had been in contact with him. The spot where such a chief had sat was also sprinkled with water, and the same process was performed on all the people who had sat near him, and on the attendants who had waited upon him. This sprinkling with cocoa-nut water was also practised upon men who had been recently tattooed, and whenever a title was taken away from any chief to whom it had been given, his body was first sprinkled with the cocoa-nut water. There is, I think, no clear explanation of the reason why this is done, or why the water of the cocoa-nut should be generally used for the purpose.

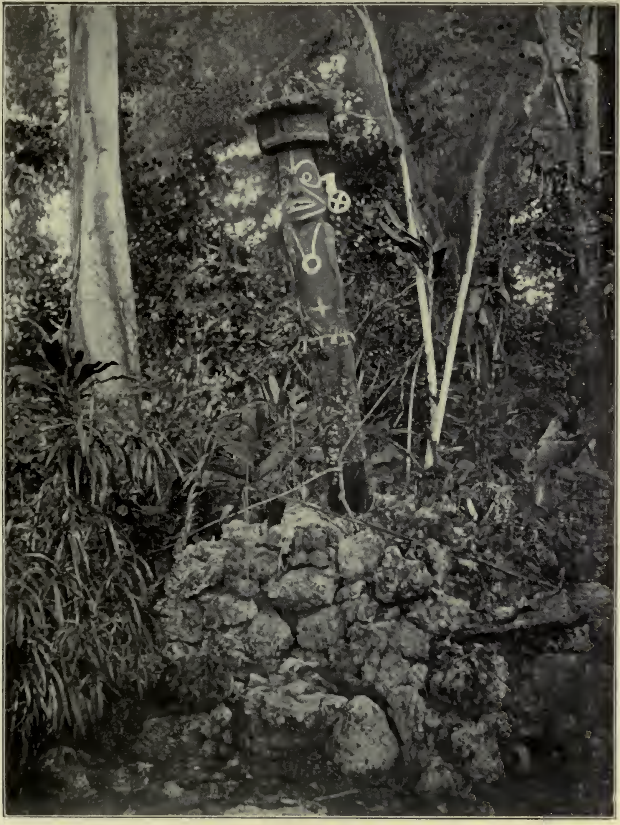
CHAPTER VIII

MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT, OMENS, SUPERSTITIONS

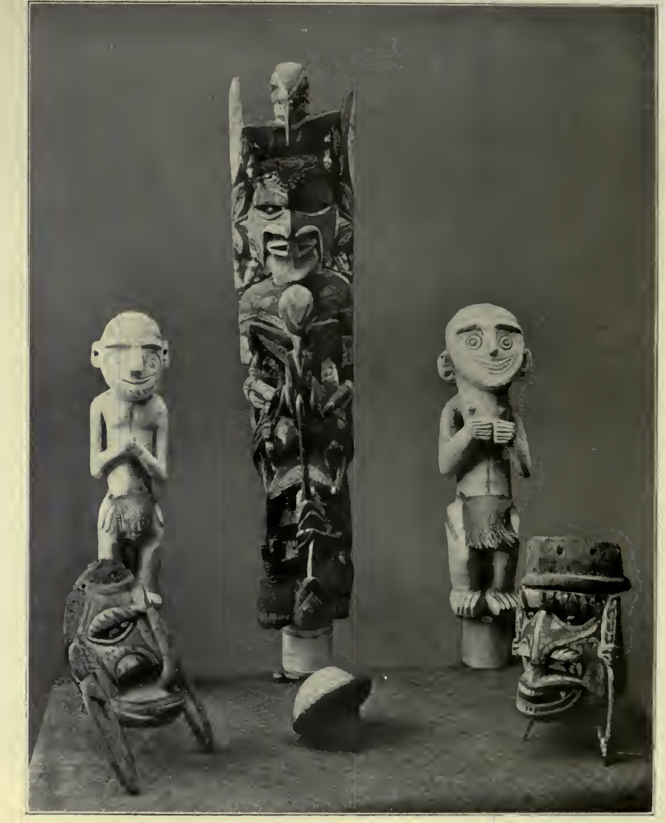
In New Britain the power of magic is implicitly believed in by the natives. It is, I think, supposed to be practised only by priests or chiefs, and though it is not necessarily restricted to them, they are, of course, the most prominent professors of it. The members of the great secret societies exercised much of their power by the extensive practice of the art. It is very difficult, indeed, to say whether the influence exercised by them is in any way connected with religion. If magic is presumed to be the beginning of religion, then the answer will be in the affirmative, but so far as I could judge, the predominant feeling is simply that of fear owing to the belief which the natives have that certain people, aided in most cases by the possession of some *mana* or supernatural power belonging to them, are believed to be able to exercise a pernicious influence over them. There appear to be two ways in which these powers of magic can be exercised. One of these is practised by the Iniat and other societies when certain rites are carried out which are supposed to bring calamity upon the enemies of the tribe without reference to any particular individual. The power of exercising magic is in all cases called *agagara*, and any one who is supposed to have special powers of exercising this gift is called a *tena agagara*. The general plan is for some one who wishes to injure another man to secure something that he has touched with his mouth, and to guard against this the natives very carefully destroy the peelings of yams, the refuse of food, skins of bananas, and such-like articles. They are careful not to expectorate except by blowing the spittle out in spray, and the smallest quantity of blood falling on the ground or on a leaf would be at once carefully gathered up and destroyed. The principal way in which these are destroyed is by burning or by throwing into the sea, and it appears somewhat singular that the sea should, in their opinion, neutralise the powers of magic. So much so is this the case in New Ireland that the natives used to defecate in the sea, and would take great precautions to ensure that the matter was dissolved in the water.

When a man has secured something belonging to the person whom he wishes to injure, he generally takes it to some *tena agagara*, which may be freely translated as meaning professor or priest of magic. This man buries the article in a deep hole, together with leaves of poisonous plants and sharp-pointed pieces of bamboo, accompanied, of course, by suitable curses and incantations. If he is also, as is most probable, a member of the Iniat Society, he will probably place on the top of the hole one of their sacred stones. The one which I have in my possession is in shape like a large mushroom, and would, I think, be very suitable for such a purpose. The meaning, I think, of the poisonous plants and the sharp-pointed pieces of bamboo is to ensure the death of the individual either by sickness or by wounds received in fighting.

In the first instance, the belief is held that so long as that stone is pressing down the article which has been buried in the hole, the man to whom it belonged will gradually sicken and die, and this, I think, will certainly be the case if he once knows that he has been *agagara'd.* The consequence of all this is that as soon as any man is sick he and his friends at once begin to make inquiries as to who has bewitched him. There is always some one, and in some cases several, who will acknowledge to having exercised the powers of *agagara* on him, and he or his friends will then pay to have the spell removed. When he is quite assured that this has been done, he will in many cases at once begin to recover. The strange thing to me about the matter was that neither the man when he was well again nor his friends seemed to have any serious quarrel with those who had practised the art upon him. In most cases they appeared to take it as a matter of course and to bide their time when they might be able to exercise the same power themselves upon those who had injured them. I cannot say definitely whether they invoked the aid of any particular spirit or ancestor, though I am inclined to believe that the spirit of deceased relatives who were known whilst in life to be possessed of this power would be applied to in the prayers which were made. The general idea, however, seemed to be that there were some people who inherited greater powers of magic than others did, and these were generally applied to. There was nothing, however, to prevent any man from carrying out *agagara* upon any other man if he secured the necessary materials for doing so. A similar though much modified form of witchcraft was used in Fiji, but comparatively little is known



Carved Figure, inlaid with Pearl Shell to protect Burial-Grounds at Ruviana, Solomon Islands.



Carved Wooden Figure. Two Figures carved in Chalk. Two Masks, from New Ireland, and Stone used by Iniat Society for purposes of Sorcery.

about it at the present time. It was called *vakadraunikau*, which I suppose literally means "making" with leaves of trees.

Rev. W. E. Bromilow says that at Dobu, in South-Eastern New Guinea:

> *Werabana* (evil spirits) are those which inhabit dark places, and wander in the night, and give witches their power to smite all round. *Barau* is the wizardry of men, who look with angry eyes out of dark places, and throw small stones, first spitting on them, at men, women, and even children, thus causing death. A tree falls, it is a witch who caused it to do so, though the tree may be quite rotten, or a gust of wind may break it off. A man meets with an accident, it is the *werabana*. He is getting better through the influence of the medicine-man, but has a relapse; this is the *baran* at work, as we have ascertained from the terrified shouts of our workmen, as some sleeper has called out in a horrid dream. These medicine-men, too, have great power, and no wonder, when one of our girls gets a little dust in her eye, and the doctor takes a big stone out of it; and when a chief has a pain in the chest, and *to obaoba* takes therefrom a two-inch wire nail.
>
> The people here will have it that all evil spirits are female. *Werabana* is the great word, but the term is applied to witches as well, who are called the *vesses* of the *werabana*, but more often the single word is used. I have the names of spirits inhabiting the glens and forests, but they are all women or enter into women, giving them terrible powers. Whenever any one is sick, it is the *werabana* who has caused the illness, and any old woman who happened to be at enmity with the sick person is set down as the cause. A child died the other day, and the friends were quite angry because the witches had not heeded the words of the *lotu*, *i.e.* the Christian religion *Taparoro*, and given up smiting the little ones. "These are times of peace," said they; "why should the child die then?" We, of course, took the opportunity and tried to teach them that

sickness caused death without the influence of poor old women.

Sorcerers are *barau,* men whose powers are more terrible than those of all the witches. I was talking to a *to obaoba* —medicine-man—the other day, and I asked him why his taking a stone out of a man's chest did not cure him. "Oh," said he, "he must have been smitten by a *barau.*" A very logical statement this. Cases the *to obaoba* cannot cure are under the fell stroke of the *barau,* from which there is no escape, except by the sorcerer's own incantations.

The Fijian sorcery of *drau-ni-kau* appears here in another form called *sumana* or rubbish. The sorcerer obtains possession of a small portion of his victim's hair, or skin, or food left after a meal, and carefully wraps it up in a parcel, which he sends off to as great a distance as is possible. In the meantime he very cunningly causes a report of the *sumana* to be made known to the man whom he wishes to kill, and the poor fellow is put into a great fright and dies.

The Rev. S. B. Fellows gave me the following account of the beliefs of the people of Kiriwina (Trobriands group) :—

The sorcerers, who are very numerous, are credited with the power of creating the wind and rain, of making the gardens to be either fruitful or barren, and of causing sickness which leads to death. Their methods of operation are legion. The great chief, who is also the principal sorcerer, claims the sole right to secure a bountiful harvest every year. This function is considered of transcendent importance by the people.

Our big chief, Bulitara, was asking me one day if I had these occult powers. When I told him that I made no such claim, he said, "Who makes the wind and the rain and the harvest in your land?" I answered, "God." "Ah," said he, "that's it. God does this work for your people, and I do it for our people. God and I are equal."

He delivered this dictum very quietly, and with the air of a man who had given a most satisfactory explanation.

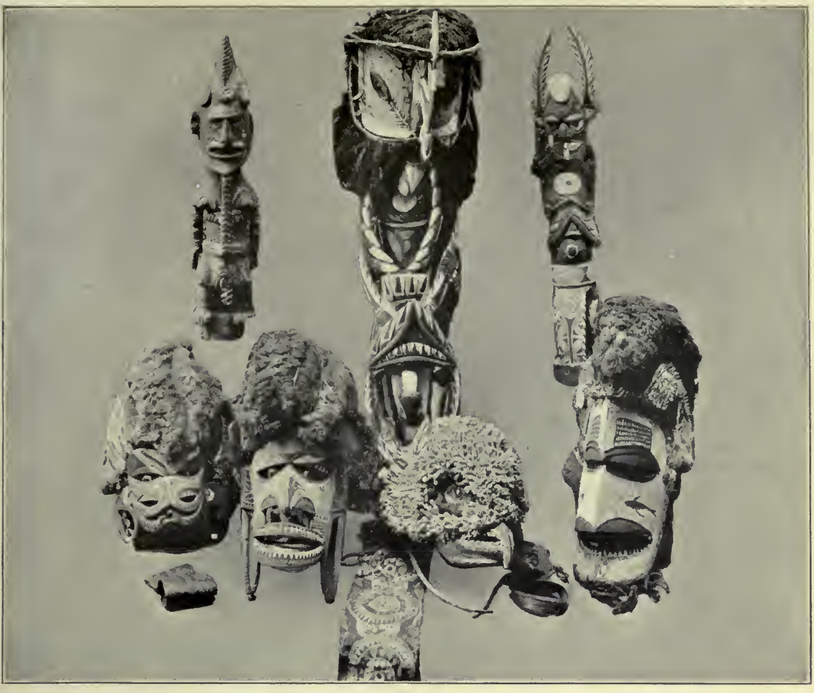
But the one great dread that darkens the life of every native is the fear of the *bogau*, the sorcerer who has the power to cause sickness and death, who, in the darkness of night, steals to the house of his unsuspecting victim, and places near the doorstep a few leaves from a certain tree, containing the mystic power which he, by his evil arts, has imparted to them. The doomed man, on going out of his house next morning, unwittingly steps over the fatal leaves, and is at once stricken down by a mortal sickness. Internal disease of every kind is set down to this agency. Bulitara told me the mode of his witchcraft. He boils his decoctions, containing numerous ingredients, in a special cooking-pot on a small fire, in the secret recesses of his own house, at the dead of night; and while the pot is boiling he speaks into it an incantation known only to a few persons. The bunch of leaves dipped in this is at once ready for use. Passing through the villages the other day, I came across a woman, apparently middle-aged, who was evidently suffering from a wasting disease, she was so thin and worn. I asked if she had any pain, and her friends said, "No." Then they explained that some *bogau* was sucking her blood. I said, "How does he do it?" "Oh," they said, "that is known only to himself. He manages to get her blood which makes him strong, while she gets weaker every day, and if he goes on much longer she will die."

Deformities at birth, and being born dumb or blind, are attributed to the evil influence of disembodied spirits, who inhabit a lower region called *Tuma*. Once a year the spirits of the ancestors visit their native village in a body after the harvest is gathered. At this time the men perform special dances, the people openly display their valuables, spread out on platforms, and great feasts are made for the spirits. On a certain night, when the moon named *Namarama* is at the full, all the people—men, women, and children—join in raising a great shout, and so drive the spirits back to *Tuma*.

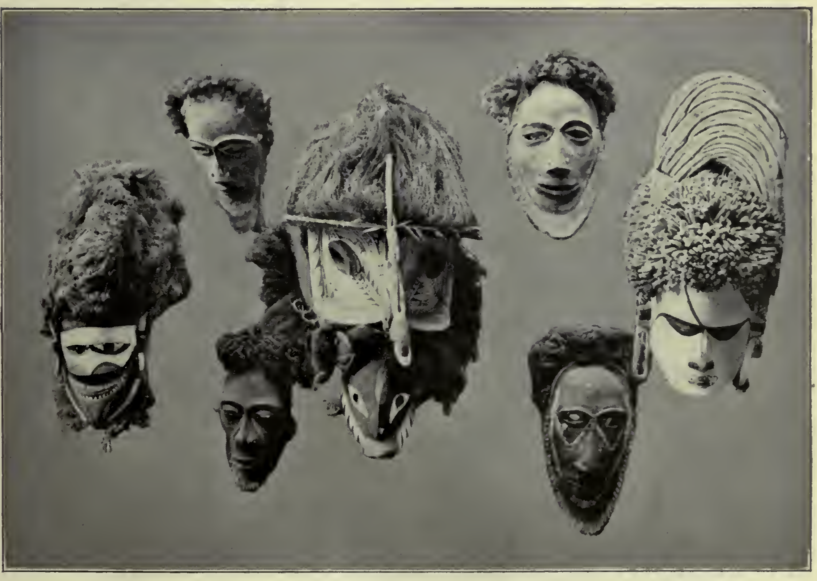
A peculiar custom prevails of wearing, as charms, various parts of the body of a deceased relative. On her breast, suspended by a piece of string round her neck, a widow wears her late husband's lower jaw, the full set of teeth looking ghastly and grim. The small bones of the arms and legs are taken out soon after death, and formed into spoons, which are used to put lime into the mouth when eating betel-nut. Only this week a chief died in a village three miles from us, and a leg and an arm, for the above purpose, were brought to our village by some relatives as their portion of their dead friend.

An evidence of the passionate nature of this people is seen in the comparatively frequent attempts at suicide. Their method is to climb into the top branches of a high tree, and, after tying the ankles together, to throw themselves down. During the last twelve months two attempts near our home were successful, and several others were prevented. In some cases the causes were trivial. One young man allowed his anger to master him because his wife had smoked a small piece of tobacco belonging to him; he fell from the tree across a piece of root, which was above ground, and broke his back. A woman, middle-aged and childless, who had become jealous, climbed into a tree near her house, and calling out "Good-bye" to her brother in the village, instantly threw herself down. Falling on her head she died in a few hours; the thick skin of the scalp was cut, but so far as I could see the skull was not broken.

In Kiriwina also the natives regarded the snake as one of their ancestral chiefs, or rather as the abode of his spirit, and when one was seen in a house it was believed that the chief was paying a visit to his old home. The natives considered this as an ill omen and so always tried to persuade the animal to depart as soon as possible. The honours of a chief were paid to the snake: the natives passed it in a crouching posture, and as they did so, saluted it as a chief



Carved Masks and Figures from New Guinea.



Masks from New Ireland, and Skulls and Masks from New Britain.

of high rank. Native property was presented to it as an appeasing gift, accompanied by prayers that it would not do them any harm, but would go away quickly. They dared not kill the snake, for its death would bring disease and death upon those who did so. They were quite willing, however, for any one else to kill it. In one instance they attributed a severe epidemic to the fact of a big snake being near one of the trees near the village. When they located a snake it was the custom to place a piece of roast pork at the foot of the tree, and then pray to the snake to eat the food they had given and to go away, taking with him the prevailing sickness to the villages of their enemies. When a great chief died his body was cut up and distributed amongst his relatives. The last honour which the people could pay to a chief was to bury him in several graves in different villages; to clean his skull and decorate and preserve it as an heirloom, and to make the small bones of his body into lime spatulas, which took his name and were sacred to his memory. They had clumps of very old primeval forest left near their villages. These places were sacred groves which were strictly *tabu.* If a person entered into one without uttering the proper incantations he would be struck dead according to *tabu* placed on it by their ancestors; only old men went there to hatch their plots in secret when they wished to kill any one by sorcery or to make war.

New Guinea people, in many parts at least, never mention the name of the dead except that a sorcerer may call on one by name to help him to cure a sick relative.

The Duke of York natives have no dread of the evil eye, but cursing is thought to bring evil on the person who is cursed. They also believe that by persistent calling on a man whom they wish to get hold of, that he will by their calling be drawn to them even from a great distance. Dreams were always interpreted as omens, *e.g.* a knife meant war, a spear, a wound, etc. etc.

I have already mentioned some omens in describing their wars, but they had many others. The howling of dogs was regarded as a sign of death. They said, "The dogs howl first, the women will soon follow." Meeting with lizards or other animals, movements and cries of birds, etc., were all regarded as omens. A snake lying across the road would turn back any war party. When a man sneezed they thought that some one had spoken his name. If he wished to sneeze and could not do so, he thought that some one meant to call him but was unable to do so. If a man was sick and sneezed, they said at once, "Oh, he will live. The spirit (*niono*) has returned to him." It is interesting here to note that these New Britain people, in accordance with the custom that is almost universal, express a wish for the well-being of the person who sneezes. They say *lalaun*, may you live. The Samoans say *soifua*, may you live, and the answer given by the person who sneezes is *ola*, the common word for life. The Fijians say *bula*, may you live, and the answer given is *mole*, thanks. Yawning was a sign of sickness, but as a matter of fact, it was often the beginning of an attack of malarial fever. Houses and villages were often abandoned on account of sickness or death taking place there. An echo was considered to be the voice of a spirit. People in delirium spoke the words of the *tebaran* or spirit who had possessed them.

The natives did not eat or drink while at sea. One man was always praying to the spirits of the dead that there might be no wind or heavy sea, and that the land might "come nearer." They never pointed at the land for fear it might go farther away from them. When they heard a noise as of distant thunder (caused probably by the surf on the reef), they thought that boards were being spread for the dead chiefs to sit upon. A woman could not go into a new canoe or no shark would ever be caught by it. If no shark be taken, a Duke of York native also believes that some one has committed adultery with his wife.

In the Shortlands group (Solomon Islands), when a new canoe is launched and is being taken round for inspection, no man can "visit his wife" until it is put in the canoe-house again. So in certain fishing parties no woman can go near the house, nor can any man visit his home, or even speak to a woman, or they will not catch any turtles.

I once tripped my foot in New Britain and nearly fell down. My companion told me that their custom always was to carry any chief who so stumbled to his home, when he would have to pay them for the compliment. This is exactly the same custom which prevailed in Fiji. In New Guinea they have the same custom of cutting off a finger-joint in token of mourning as in Fiji. The operation is performed in remembrance of a near relative such as a brother, etc. In some parts of New Ireland the natives cast a stone into a cave in the face of a cliff on the death of any person related to them, whether young or old, but no one seemed to know the reason for this.

The jumping-off place for departed spirits at Guadalcanar, in the Solomon Islands, is at the eastern end of the island instead of at the western end as in Eastern Polynesia and in most other places in Melanesia. The eastern end is also the jumping-off place in Erromanga. I do not, however, know the reason for this change.

It is rather singular to find the belief in mermaids, tailed men, and dwarfs amongst the natives of New Britain and also of New Guinea. I found the people in Duke of York to be most positive in their assertions about these matters. They declared that they had seen mermaids; that one was caught in a net some time previously and bore several children to a man of Piritop, but unfortunately I could never get to see them! The natives in Blanche Bay affirmed most positively the existence of a race of men with tails at a place called Kalili, inland of Cape Palliser. They declared that the appendage was hard and inflexible and was an extension of the spinal bones. They told us also that they had to dig a hole in the sand before they could sit down, as they would die at once if the tail were broken. They also said that any child born without this appendage was destroyed for fear it should be ridiculed when it grew up. They denied most indignantly the supposition that they were monkeys, asking if monkeys ever fought with spears, planted yams, or made houses. We tried to get guides to conduct us to the place, but never succeeded in doing so, as the people professed to be too frightened to go. All the districts where these people were supposed to live have since been thoroughly explored, and I need not say that the race has never been found. The belief, however, is interesting, especially as we find it in such widely separate countries. The late Rev. Dr. Lawes found it in New Guinea, and in a letter dated 13th February 1877, he says:

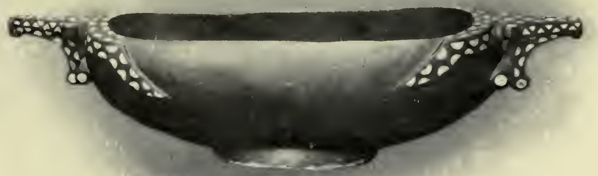
> In one of these, some miles inland from Redscar Bay, is said to live a tribe of men with tails! I have heard the story from one and another of the natives along the coast, but have never conversed with one who has actually seen the said appendage. I have tried to sift the story and get at the truth, if there is any in it. I find that the farther you go from the locality the longer the tails become, and the more minute the description of their owners! According to one report the said tails are not very flexible, for the gentlemen are said to have to make a hole in the ground to put them in when they sit down!
>
> The story, thoroughly believed by the natives themselves, and divested of what is manifestly false, is as follows:—A tribe in the interior, called Junadoda, has trading connection with another village nearer the coast, called Verevere. The Verevereans assert that the men of this tribe have tails, length and size this deponent knoweth not. The name of the village is of Malayo-Polynesian origin, *juna* being the name for tail in several Polynesian dialects, as also in that of Port Moresby. One of our South Sea Island teachers went with a native party in their canoes two days up the Manumanu River to a village called Toula. He inquired for the tribe with tails, and was told by the chief of Toula that he had seen the tribe Verevere, but not the tailed one, although they are said to visit Kapatsi, a village much nearer the coast of Redscar Bay than Toula. He stoutly maintained that the tails were a fact.

The New Britain people also told us of a race of dwarfs living inland in New Ireland who were said to be very strong and active, and of whom they professed to be in great fear. They declared that these people blew lime from bamboos into the eyes of any one who tried to catch them. I had a pretty good acquaintance with New Ireland, but never found the dwarfs.

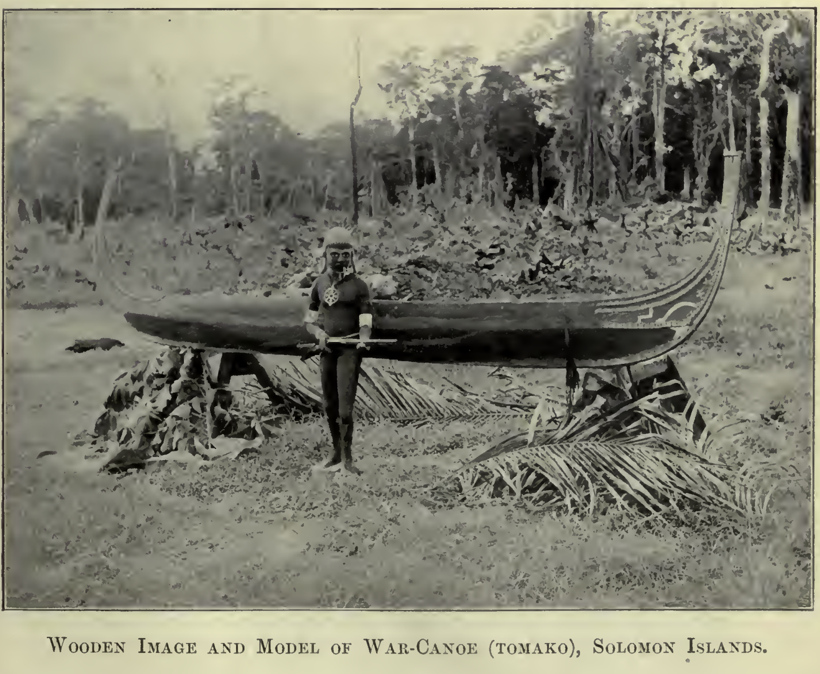
They were very frightened whenever an eclipse (*kalang i ria*) took place. They beat the drums, shouted, and invoked the supreme power or god (*Nara i tara dat*), crying, "*Ui maramari a num kabawiwi liklik*" ("Have pity on us, thy defenceless ones under thy protection"). *Ui Nekidong Nekidong* (name of *Tabu i ko*), the woman who made lands. They were afraid that the moon would never appear again. They thought that all eclipses were caused either by the sun fighting the moon or the moon fighting the sun, and they were much more afraid of an eclipse of the moon than they were of that of the sun. They believed that the sun was carried by a man. If he went quickly he was a strong man; if slowly he was lame (*pepeu*). Stars were spirits of the dead. The sun went down and passed round under the sea, and came up again on the other side. Formerly the dog walked erect, but ran very fast and killed men. So many men died, that survivors consulted together and laid a scheme. They cooked some bread-fruit, and made it very hot. They then put the hot seeds in the road on which the dog was to pass. He trod upon them, burnt his foot, and fell on his hands amongst more hot seeds, and was ever afterwards unable to go erect. You can see the seeds still on every dog's foot (the ball of the foot).

When a chief dies, the people of the town are very much frightened, as they think, probably from experience gained in past years, that the inhabitants of the surrounding villages will seize the occasion to revenge any wrongs which they may have suffered from the deceased chief. Every petty chief has to be conciliated by them, and they have to give *diwara* to every one who goes to visit them, until they are stripped of nearly all the money they have. If they have still some powerful chief left, they will not be so anxious to conciliate their neighbours; but they generally feel defenceless when their chief dies.

In Samoa religion seems to have made considerable advance from the initial stage of belief in magic to that of belief in deities, of supernatural beings, who, having principally been at one stage considered only as ancestors, had in the course of time become to be considered as gods, not in any way related to men at the present time. The Samoans, as already stated, had gods who were reverenced over large districts, and even over the whole group; and there were others who were regarded as being more especially connected with particular families. It may be that we have in this the transitional stage from ancestor worship to that of the worship of gods who are not now regarded as having been human. I could not find any traces of any such mode of exercising the powers of magic as are practised in New Britain and many Melanesian groups, such as I have already described, where a man secures something which formed part of or has been touched by some man, and takes this to a sorcerer for the purpose of injuring the individual from whom the object has been obtained. The sorcerer still existed in Samoa, but the *modus operandi* was different. There was still the consciousness of a supernatural power, and the assumption by the priest or sorcerer that he could influence that power; but instead of simply asking for a yam peeling or banana skin, a piece of hair, spittle, blood, or any such objects, he demanded property, such as valuable mats, and other things which were of value to him. For these he was always ready to enter into communication with his god. The god was supposed to enter into the *Taula-aitu*, or priest, and his presence was indicated by certain preliminary yawnings and coughing, and then by the body of the priest being violently contorted and apparently convulsed. The assembled people would then hear a voice from behind a screen, probably given by means of ventriloquism, or it may have been by an assistant concealed. This voice asserted the presence of the god invoked, and the application for his services was then made in the most polite language. The applications were for the recovery of the sick, for success in war, and for the reason of any calamity which had come upon them. Sickness, for instance, was generally believed to be caused by the anger of some god, and the question to which the priest had to find an answer was as to the reason of the anger which had thus been manifested. On all such occasions the priest generally contrived to secure his own interests. Each member of the family was called upon to confess as to whether he had committed any injury against other members of the family or village, and especially as to whether he had invoked a curse upon any member of it. This seems to indicate that individuals, apart from the priests, were supposed to be able to exercise still some powers of magic. If any member was suspected of doing this, he was compelled, even if he denied doing so, to spurt some water towards the sick person as a proof that he revoked any such imprecation. The priest would sometimes announce the conditions on which the god would be favourable, and these were generally that the god wanted something, such as a fine mat, pieces of land, a canoe, or some other property. The priest, indeed, who was often also the head of the family, often made this an excuse for securing some valuable mat or other property from the designs of distant members of the family. If, for instance, he heard or suspected that an application was soon to be made for some particular mat by a distant relative to whom, by the communistic customs of Samoans, he could not refuse to give it, he would secure means against this by a demand from the god that it should be dedicated to him, and so the priest would have an answer to make when his covetous relative came for the mat or the property. These Taula-aitu were also applied to to invoke the assistance of *aitu* or spirits who were supposed to have the control of any particular diseases, such as dysentery, spitting of blood, sudden death, either for the removal of the complaint or to secure the infliction of the disease upon individuals with whom the applicants were at enmity. They were also applied to in cases of theft in order to ascertain who had taken the articles, and where they were hidden. Sometimes the priest would be angry with the god if the requests were not complied with, and would even become abusive. There were symbols of some of the principal gods, especially those who were supposed to be more especially war-gods, which were committed to the charge of the priests, and these symbols always accompanied the war parties either in canoes or on shore. They consisted in one case of a kind of drum and a long pennant; in another of a conch-shell; in another a drum was carried at the mast-head of one of the canoes; but these symbols appear to have been principally, if not altogether, associated with war. Many of the Samoans still believe in some subtle magic which can be exercised by others by means of cursing. A man, for instance, who had injured another and who subsequently lost several of his children by death, went to the man whom he had offended to ask if he had cursed him and so caused the death of his children, and entreated him, if this were the case, to take away the curse. The individual who had been cursed was generally allowed to know that this had been done, though in some cases it was only suspected, but in either case it always caused great fear and often serious illness. Some events of recent date show that the belief in the power of the gods has not quite died out. A merchant who had offended the people of a certain district was trying to refloat a stranded ship. He had apparently succeeded in doing this, and the vessel was held in position by a large hawser. The people invoked all the gods of Samoa to sit on the vessel and keep her down. If this were not sufficient they prayed, then, that the gods of Tonga should come, and if this did not suffice then let all the gods of Fiji come. It was strongly suspected, however, that faith was supplemented by works, as the hawser holding the ship was found to be cut in two the next morning. As every god had some bird, animal, or other object of natural history as its *ata* or representative, omens derived from the action or positions of these objects were regarded as of great importance by the Samoans. There are many natives in these days who do not know even



Wooden Bowl inlaid with Shells, Guadalcanar, Solomon Islands.

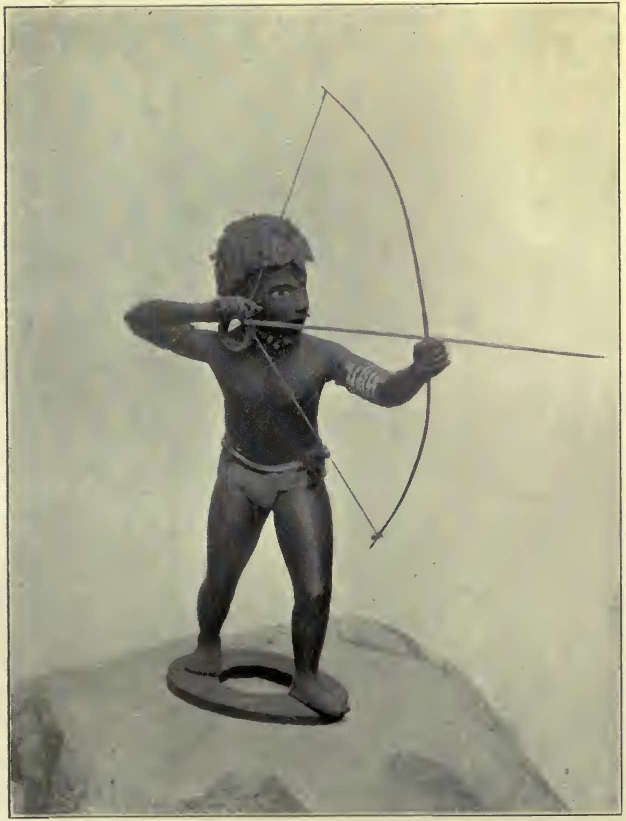


Wooden Image and Model of War-Canoe (tomako), Solomon Islands.

the names of the old deities; but the belief in omens associated in the first instance with the worship of the gods still continues, and almost everything is regarded as an omen either of good or bad fortune or direction with regard to certain priests' actions. An interesting account of these district and family gods, and the omens connected with them, will be found in Rev. Dr. Turner's *Samoa*, pp. 23-77.

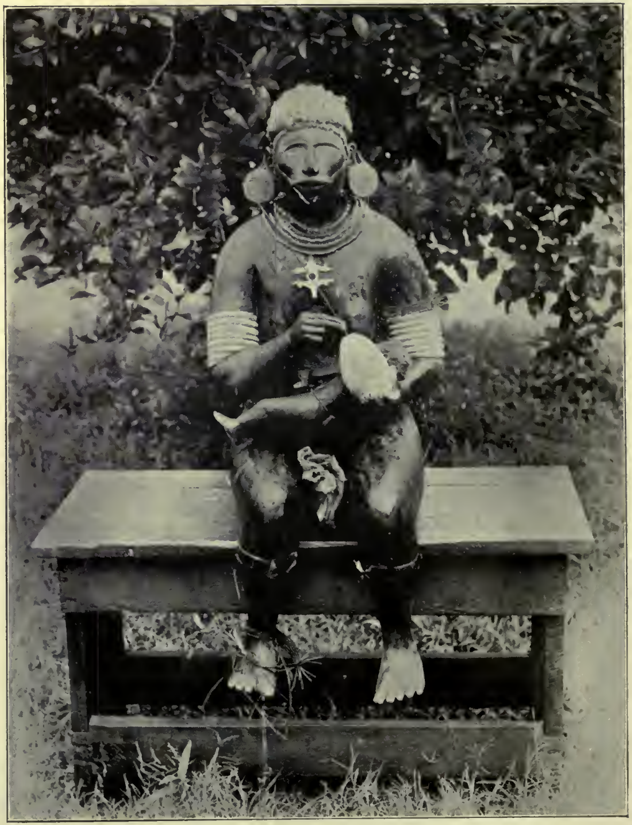
In addition to these there were many superstitions; qualities of good or bad fortune were constantly attributed to natural objects. Fish-hooks, for instance, were considered to be lucky or unlucky. Some canoes or boats were considered to be much more fortunate in attracting sharks or other fish than other canoes were. Weapons were also considered as being courageous or cowardly. When a boat belonging to any family was fishing for *bonito* or sharks it was forbidden to mention the names of the fishermen by the people on shore, as if they were talked about they would get no fish. I do not know whether the people believed that the *aitus* or spirits would hear the conversation and report it. If any person came to the house of a family from which some of its members had gone on a fishing expedition and were to ask where they were, they would be told that they were "looking aside" (*faasangaese*). It was also forbidden to untie any bundles of native cloth or mats in the house or to lift up the nut blinds nearest to the sea whilst the boats were out. It was also forbidden to wash a *bonito* on the beach on such occasions; whilst the fact of the chief being angry, or one of the men's wives being sulky or scolding in his absence, was quite sufficient to account for the fishing party being unsuccessful. They believed that unless a boat or canoe was bored with some small holes (*pu fangota*) no shark would ever go near it. Every new boat must be *faaloaina*, that is, made alive by having caught a shark, before any woman could go in it on a journey. The first sharks caught by a boat had to be taken to the chiefs. There were generally three lots—the *ola*, *tua ola*, and the *faatanga*.

In addition to the wishes for good health uttered by both Melanesians and Polynesians which I have already mentioned, it was believed by the Samoans that if a man sneezed at sea it was a sign that some one was talking about him; if his heel was pained, that some one was grumbling at him; and if the pain was in his instep, that people were pleased with him. The sneeze was also regarded as an omen. An old chief called Fiu came to remove his son, who was ill, to his own home. They had the boat all ready and the son wrapped up, when just as they were about to remove him to the boat he gave a sneeze. They were afraid to go, and the old chief at once ordered the boat to be hauled up again. Many words were sacred to the bushmen. A bird called the *maomao* was never mentioned by this name. *Malala*, or charcoal, was changed to a phrase meaning the black article. Rain was spoken of only as mist, and other words were also changed. Amongst the Samoans also the tame pigeon was always addressed in chief's language. This, I think, was probably done because it was the *ata* or representative of some god. The people often abandoned sites or villages on the ground that the gods were angry, and had consumed the inhabitants. This was generally the case after some epidemic.



Carved Figure with Bow and Arrow, Ruviana, Solomon Islands.

This is cut out of hard wood and is a fine specimen of native figure-carving.



Wooden Image of Woman with Baby, Ruviana, Solomon Islands.

CHAPTER IX

MORALS, CRIMES, COVENANTS

THERE is nothing more important in discussing the morals of primitive races than to do so as far as possible from the standpoint of the people themselves. If we adopt the standard of our present civilisation as the only standard of morals we might then, in many instances, say that there was no morality amongst the New Britain people. They have no abstract term for morality, nor is it, I think, ever considered as something due to a superior power; but there is always the fear of punishment from those powers for certain actions which are believed to be displeasing to them. Morality is right living according to the standpoint of the people themselves. It is, I think, always associated with conduct, and is not regarded by the people as an abstract principle. It is right to do certain actions because they have always been considered to be right, and it is wrong to do other actions because they have always been considered to be wrong. A good man is a man whose conduct is good according to their standards. A bad man is one whose conduct is bad according to the same standards. Public opinion, and the shame which is felt when that is adverse, constitutes, I think, the rule for right conduct, and shame the punishment for any breach of the moral law. In many cases, however, there is, I think, very little, if any, condemnation of the sin felt by the offender. The sin to him consists in being found out. As in Samoa the essential to being a good man is that he shall be a generous one. Niggardliness, especially with regard to food, is always wrong. A man of good conduct must make plenty of feasts; he must buy dances both for his own benefit and for the pleasure of the people; he must be loving to his friends; he must look well after his children, and he must be a good fighter. A bad man is a stingy man, one who takes no interest in his children, is quarrelsome, one who speaks evil of others, and one who kills another without cause. If he killed a man as a reprisal, that would be considered meritorious. I do not think any distinction was made by the people between crimes which ought to be punished and others which were simply to be condemned by public opinion. In those cases where the offender was a chief and practically immune from punishment his actions would still be condemned and spoken against. I think the same rules of morality applied to enemies of the tribes as to the members of it, except that deceit in war which would be considered meritorious against the enemy would be condemned if used against one of the tribe. I never heard of the people attributing the principles of right and wrong to any superior being, but they were very certain with regard to punishment after death. Theft is punished in the other world by beating the offenders against a tree, drawing them also against the *rikarika* (a fibre plant). The niggard was punished by filling his ears with filth and beating him against the buttress roots of the trees. Stealing, whether from friends or tribes, was condemned, and so was the breaking of solemn engagements. Reverence to the aged was a virtue, and the neglect of them was always condemned. There was no special condemnation of any occasional act of unchastity before marriage, but after betrothal any interference with the betrothed female was strongly reprobated, and after marriage adultery would most certainly cause a fight. It was considered to be not only a personal injury against the husband, but also against the woman's friends, as they were put to shame before the people. So strongly was this felt that in some instances the relatives of the woman would kill her themselves. Revenge would be taken or attempted in the first case by the man and his family; if not successful he would go to the chief and get a lot of *diwara* from him, and then the chief would get it back from the criminal or he would fight him for it. It really meant appealing to and paying the chief. A commits adultery with B's wife. B fights and also gives the chief 10 fathoms of *diwara*. The chief then gives B 100 fathoms (that is, 10 fathoms for each one which B gave), and then the chief demands 120-150 fathoms from A, which A has to give or be prepared at once to fight the chief and B and his friends.

Selfishness and cowardice were two of the principal offences against morals, whilst bravery, cruelty in war, persistency in revenge, and the endurance of pain were amongst the principal virtues.

Homicide was regarded as criminal, but justifiable in the case of old feuds, adultery, incest, intrusion into grounds of secret societies, etc. Any breach of class relationships was regarded as incest. Suicide was not considered to be criminal; any man, however, who had caused his wife to commit suicide by his cruelty or wrongdoing was considered to be a bad man, but no blame was attached to the suicide. In case of rape the friends of the woman would beat her, and also the man and his friends. They would beat the woman because they were ashamed. Payment would have to be made for the offence by both parties. I never heard of any cases of abduction, but they were said to be common on New Ireland. No case of the abuse of a child came under my notice nor do I think it is practised, and I feel certain that if any such cases were known the man would either be killed or would have to pay very heavily. Children, however, when comparatively young seem to have improper intercourse with each other. I only knew of one case of an unnatural offence, and in that instance the boy was ill. A Chinaman who attempted to commit an offence was very nearly killed. The principal crimes, I repeat, are homicide and adultery, and all these are considered almost entirely as offences against the individual and not against the state. There is no special protection to the chief owing to his position. If he should be guilty of any crime he must fight in his own defence as any other man.

In the settlement of differences or crimes, either against the individual or the tribe, the idea of restitution in some form or other occupies a very prominent place. Symbolic actions are performed in which a covenant is certainly implied, and words are used which practically have the meaning of oaths. A man, for instance, will draw his hand across the throat, implying a wish that his throat may be cut if he is speaking falsely. Another man will repeat the words *wirua ba*, meaning "May I become a body to be eaten if, etc." Another may use the expression, *limlim ra nimuan*, the meaning of which is some dreadful disgrace in connection with class relationships. It really means, "May I be brought into personal touch or connection with my mother-in-law or some other prohibited relative if I do not speak the truth." He is not permitted to speak the name of his mother-in-law and some other relations. They are *nimuan* to him and he to them. The only covenant, in the strict acceptance of the word, that I have heard of was one that was often made between two men going to a fight. This was to the effect that if either of them were killed the other would revenge his death or die with him. All covenants or oaths were carried out by the individuals themselves without intervention of the sorcerer or priest. There were no ordeals as by fire or poison known to the New Britain people.

With regard to peace-making the following account of an actual occurrence will, I think, show the essential characteristics of all these ceremonies. These were that restitution or payment for each man killed was the principal consideration, whilst the eating together from the same heap of food was a proof of their confidence in each other, and of the sincerity of each other's professions.

> Two districts on New Britain had been at war with each other for a long time. One day a teacher was preaching to them, and urged them to make peace, but apparently without effect. After he had left them, however, on his way to the district with which they were at war, one of the chiefs to whom he had been preaching, overtook him, and gave him a dracena plant, and said: "Take this to the Nakukuru chiefs, and tell them it is our peace offering.

It is to make the road good between our villages. Tell them our mind is to live in peace." The teacher took the dracena, and gave it to the chiefs of the opposite district, urging upon them at the same time the advisability of accepting the proposals for peace. When he was preparing to return home, a Nakukuru chief took the dracena plant which the teacher had brought from the other people, and planted it in his own ground in the presence of the teacher. He then said: "Tell Torogud that I have planted his offering in my own ground." He then pulled up a similar dracena plant from his own land, and said: "Take this to Torogud, and tell him that our mind is to be at peace." The teacher took this back to Torogud, and he planted it in his own ground, and so the preliminaries of peace were duly ratified. I did not see the formal conclusion of this, but I saw one betwixt two of the villages which I will now describe, the preliminaries as related above having been complied with. The villages represented on this occasion were Outam and Kinawanua. These places were only a few miles apart, but had been at enmity for years, so much so indeed that the language spoken by one village differed very much indeed from that spoken by the other one. Many men had been killed during the progress of the feud, but with the advent of the missionary, there came a desire for peace, and this was finally concluded. The Outam people came to the beach near Kinawanua, and were welcomed by the people there in the usual way. For a long time the people seemed very nervous and suspicious of treachery, but this gradually wore off. One curious custom was when a large number of each side, all armed and painted in full war costume, rushed towards each other, shaking their spears, and shouting words of encouragement to each other to be strong, and fight. As the approaching parties neared each other, they rushed together, and each man, with his spear poised as if to throw it, turned his shoulder to his adversary, and they bumped against each other with great force, and then clashed their spears together. The collision in some cases was sufficient to upset some of the combatants. This kind of sham fight was carried on during the course of the morning, and an interchange of small pieces of native money took place from time to time. They did not make many speeches. The meaning of those which were made was simply to offer excuses for past actions. One chief, for instance, said that his men killed the Kinawanua people without his consent, and the Kinawanua chief said that it was his late brother who killed and ate the Outam men. The Outam people then lashed a lot of native money to a large stick, which they planted in the sand, and then a number of Kinawanua people came in the usual fighting way to take it. The usual bumping affair took place, and then the Kinawanua people started back with the money, when a lot of Outam people gave chase to them, brandishing their spears, and shouting as if to take the money back again. A few of the Kinawanua people turned round as if to attack their pursuers, when the Outam people ran back again. This was, of course, simply a sham. Then, in their turn, the Kinawanua people also prepared their stick of native money, and the chief and people of the other party came to take it, when the same scene was enacted. It seemed to me that during the course of the negotiations the number of people killed on either side had been ascertained, and money was paid as satisfaction for them. According to this curious arrangement, the party which had killed the most of the enemy would have to pay the most money when peace was declared, as payment was made for each man killed. A day or two afterwards the peace was confirmed. They had paid for each other's losses, and so the way for complete reconciliation was now clear. The Outam people came to the meeting place, though they still appeared to be somewhat suspicious. The usual bumping ceremony, of which I am unable to explain the meaning, took place. Large quantities of food were brought by the Outam people, and placed in the centre of the ground. A similar quantity was brought by the Kinawanua people, and placed near it. Both parties then advanced simultaneously, brandishing spears, shouting, yelling, and then uniting with each other, they circled round the food. The Outam people then ate the food prepared by Kinawanua, and the Kinawanua people ate that which was prepared by Outam. This was the greatest proof that peace was made, and that they trusted in the *bona fides* of each other. They are always very much afraid of witchcraft, and the fact of their eating food their late enemies had prepared was the greatest proof of confidence. During the progress of the ceremonies, several other symbolic actions were used, such, for instance, as a man rushing up to another, pretending to dart a spear at him, but instead of doing this, sticking it into the ground in front of the man, leaving it with him, and going away from him unarmed. Another was that of a man pretending to dart a spear at another one, but, instead of doing so, he placed his foot upon it, and broke the point off. During the whole time of my residence in the group, the peace thus made was never broken.

The following account given me by the Rev. S. B. Fellows of peace-making (*kabilula*) at Kiriwina, South-Eastern New Guinea, shows that in that district the essential conditions were also those of restitution and eating or smoking together.

On such occasions presents were given and received on both sides, but the defeated chief, after seeking and receiving permission, has to come to the village of the conqueror and there make his offer of payment. Moliasi in this instance was the conqueror, Taolu and his friends were the defeated party. The proceedings were opened by Taolu rushing into the ring, carrying aloft a valuable armlet, which he laid on the ground, at the same time crying out in a loud voice, "*Kam lula, Moliasi*" ("Thy atonement, Moliasi"). He immediately turned round and retired, and the armlet was snatched up by one of Moliasi's men. Again and again Taolu repeated this performance, each time bringing only *vaigua* (article of wealth), calling out the name of the chief to whom he was giving it as he laid it down. Some of his friends also did the same. In this way between 30 and 40 different *vaigua*, consisting of armlets, stone tomahawks, strings and necklaces of native money were presented and received. Then Taolu, simulating furious passion, and with energetic gesture, addressed the conquering party as *bobagua* (my younger brothers). He said, "I am weak to-day through the death of elder brother; the thin branches of a tree are more easily broken by a big one than the thick stem. I am but a branch, my elder brother was the strong stem. Had he been alive to-day he would have brought you more *vaigua* than you have men. I have brought you my own *vaigua* as your *lula*. Let that suffice." Then Moliasi and the other chiefs presented a return *lula* to Taolu and his party. They laid down in the same way, one by one, a number of articles, the exact equivalent for those which they had received. After this they made speeches, all of them definitely accepting Taolu as their chief (*guiau*). Then Taolu made his way into the midst of Moliasi's men, and held high a stick of tobacco. He called out, "Which of you will take this tobacco and distribute it so that we may smoke a pipe of peace together?" Twenty eager hands were stretched out to grasp it, and with the acceptance of this tobacco the *kabilula* was completed. At a later date the conquering party would welcome back those whom they had driven from their villages, would give them presents of food, and help them to clean up their villages and build new houses.

In the case of a quarrel between the people of two villages in Kiriwina, if one of them wished for peace a pig was killed, the entrails taken out, and a large stone tomahawk put inside, the body was tied up with string, and the whole carried to the other party and then hostilities ceased. In the case of a man being speared he would call out to the man who had speared him, "Molilulabu (the name of the man), you have speared me. If I live I will be even with you. If I die my comrades will give your name to my family, who will accept the *luga* (vendetta), and will certainly avenge my death." Whoever accepts the responsibility of carrying out this *luga* will watch his chance till Molilulabu or one of his family is in his power. Then, as he strikes the fatal blow or throws the spear, he will cry out, "*E Mosibuna*." In this connection it is significant that the very worst taunt one native can throw at another is to say, "Why don't you go and take the vengeance for such and such a *luga* in your family, it is still unpaid?" And thus the heritage of hatred and crime is passed on from generation to generation.

In Samoa the code of morals observed by the people presents many points of similarity with that observed by the Melanesian peoples, but with some important differences, showing, I think, the advance in culture from the primitive conditions in which descent was reckoned through the mother, and in which there were no hereditary chiefs or settled government, to those of descent through the father, with hereditary chiefs and a form of government not confined to a small village, but extending over large districts. There is, I think, a change to be noted even in the words which convey the meanings of right and wrong, with some important marks of agreement. In Samoa, for instance, a good man (*o le tangata lelei*) is, as in Melanesia, one who is liberal; a bad man (*o le tangata leanga*) is one who is stingy and is not a chief. There are other words, such as *tonu* (right or proper), which, though generally used of words, are also used of right actions; *e.g. fau tonu*, to bind properly. The words *amiotonu* and *angatonu* are also used for right conduct, whilst *amio ese*, *amio leanga*, and *sese* mean bad conduct, wrong, error. *Anga lelei* means good conduct, say, of children to parents and relations, whereas *anga vale* means the opposite. An upright man is described as *ua le namu sala*, one who has not incurred any punishment. With the Samoans the man who eats in secret or by himself any good food which he has got is vile and despicable. They have many words to express this offence, all of which show how greatly it is condemned. These, while not considered punishable crimes, would excite strong condemnation, showing the power of public opinion even in those cases where no law of the tribe had been distinctly violated. Conduct to be reprobated was *angasala* (sin, or evil conduct), but crimes which were punishable by chiefs and the council of the village, such as adultery and any offensive acts against another village, were *pangota*. Acts of oppression or cruelty by the head of the family, or haughty conduct of a chief, could not be punished: the only remedy for the oppressed party was to go away and live with another branch of the family. Religious influence was brought to bear by invoking the vengeance of the gods on the offender, and this was done principally through the chiefs, but it was also often invoked by the offended party by some symbolic act. I do not remember any statement to the effect that the conduct of a man in this life affected his state after death. They certainly believe this now, but whether they did so prior to the introduction of Christianity I cannot definitely say. I am inclined, however, to believe that they did not believe that conduct in this life affected them in the future. It would be considered wrong to injure the person or property of any one belonging to a village or district with which they were not at war. There was no wanton ill-treatment of wives or children, as in all such cases the wife would certainly return to her own family, and to fetch her back would cost the husband some of his best property. Even children could run to their mother's family and be safe. Hospitality was practised towards all strangers; to refuse it would be looked upon as a *casus belli*, whilst to stint it would be considered the height of meanness. This, indeed, was sometimes punished by the offending party being entertained with a great superabundance of food when they in their turn had to pass in one of their journeys through the village of the people whom they had treated so meanly. This was done to shame them, and it was a most effective punishment, for the Samoans are keenly sensitive to shame. Hospitality to strangers was and is the custom of the country, and is certainly considered by the people as a duty if not a virtue. Covetousness was condemned by public opinion. A covetous man was said to have eyes like a flying-fox, always on the look-out for something for himself. Accumulation of property, however, was scarcely possible under the patriarchal communistic system.

The ideas and practice of Samoans with regard to that which would be considered stealing by us are peculiar. It was, for instance, not wrong to steal from the plantation of a relative; in fact, it was not called stealing. This is simply an illustration of the communistic system, one great disadvantage of which is that no man can rise much above the level of his fellows. The industrious man may work, whilst the lazy relative may help himself to the fruit of his labours. It is with regard to this that some questions of morals came in. A man might make a plantation of bananas, and when they were full-grown bunch after bunch might be taken away, until the poor fellow, thoroughly disheartened and also very angry, would cut down all the plants which were left. It may be thought that he had a perfect right to do this as the bananas belonged to him, but by doing so he had, in a figure, killed his relatives who had been helping themselves, and so he brought upon himself great indignation as a murderer of relatives. In another case a man found some of his cocoa-nuts stripped and a heap of husks at the foot of one of the trees. Being desirous of finding out the culprit, he cut one of the husks in half and placed the two halves on the top of the heap. He very soon had complaints made against him as being a flagrant ill-doer towards his relatives. From the standpoint of his relatives they had committed no offence in taking his cocoa-nuts, but he had virtually murdered them by his action. There are also some other points in connection with stealing which may perhaps be considered under the question of morals, though they also form part of the etiquette of the natives. If a man were working in his plantation and had to leave it for a while, if he placed his knife or tomahawk on a tree in full view of any one passing along the road, it would be considered very wrong indeed to take it away, and the man who did this might properly be called a thief; but if the man had carefully hidden his tools under some leaves or stones, and a stranger discovered them there and appropriated them for his own use, he would feel quite justified in doing so. If knives, tobacco, or small articles were found in the house by a passing traveller, and were carried off by him, little or no notice would be taken of the offence if he were a relative, no matter how distantly connected; but if he belonged to another village, the act was considered as a serious crime and insult, and was punished by the community. Again, if a man were caught in the act of stealing cocoa-nuts or other property from some trees or garden by the owner of them, he (the owner) would probably address him in polite language and say, "That is good; let your *amonga* (burden) be a heavy one"; but if the owner found that his trees or his plantation had been despoiled during his absence, he would feel quite justified in cutting down one of his banana plants or breaking a cocoa-nut, thereby symbolically venting his anger upon the culprit. I am inclined to think also that this custom was not regarded as being merely symbolic, but was really an imprecation or a curse upon the offender. Some of the Samoan ideas of morality can hardly be considered to be proper; for it would be considered no wrong to steal from a conquered party, but it was wrong to steal from any person belonging to the conquering party, as that would probably lead to war. It was indeed more a matter of fear than of morality. Cheating and lying were condemned as offences against morality, but were often practised. The people were not treacherous except in war, when it was considered to be quite justifiable. I never found them guilty of breaking solemn engagements. In their intercourse with each other the breaking of an oath would be condemned as wrong, but I think that the principal reason for the condemnation would be the fear of results that would follow. They were certainly not abstemious in eating when food was plentiful, but they did not indulge in the drinking of the *'ava* to the same extent that some other Polynesian races did. Laziness, dirtiness, either of the person or of the house, gossiping, tale-bearing, were universally condemned. It is rather singular, by the way, that the term used for backbiting (*tuāupua*) literally means "wordy behind the back." The aged were reverenced, and there are probably no people in the world more polite than the Samoans. Any person acting otherwise is called *utafanua* or *faalevao*, *i.e.* a man from inland or a bushman. Unchastity in either sex before marriage was not considered a very serious offence against morality, but adultery was always condemned. Unnatural crimes were abhorred. They were not common, and in the only case of which I have any knowledge a very opprobrious epithet was applied to the offender. A selfish man was condemned by public opinion, whilst a coward was despised.

With regard to crimes, homicide was certainly considered criminal. This, I think, is proved by the use of the opprobrious term *lima toto* (bloody-handed), but it was excusable in cases of adultery and when exercised to avenge the death of a relative. Suicide was neither praised nor condemned. They thought that a man might do what he pleased with himself. Maiming was, of course, considered proper in war. In times of peace, however, it was generally confined to a broken head inflicted by a husband on his wife, or by carpenters on fellow-craftsmen for transgressing some rules of the trade. There were few cases of rape. These were not much thought of except in the case of some person of rank or by the relatives of the family, but in this latter case the true reason for anger was because the act had interfered with some of their matrimonial projects. The abduction of a wife often caused war, but seduction was not considered as a serious crime, whilst the abuse of children was unknown. An assault committed by one man against another was considered to be simply a matter between themselves and their relatives; an assault committed on travelling parties for the transgression of some custom, such as passing along in front of a house after the death of a chief, would also be unnoticed if it was considered that the travellers had knowingly offended, but if no sufficient cause had been given the action would certainly be retaliated. Adultery was punishable by the death of the adulterer either by the husband or by his friends. It was, I think, principally regarded as a wrong done to the husband, hence the term *sopo tofanga*, to step over the bed; but the wife of the adulterer also regarded it as an injury done to herself, and in the olden days asserted this by biting off the nose or cutting off the ear of the other woman. On the part of the man no shame or disgrace appeared to be attached to it; in fact, it was generally made a boast of. Arson was only practised as a mode of punishment on a family for some offence. The burning of an enemy's village on gaining possession was simply an act of war. Theft and fraud were in most cases only considered as offences against the person injured. Rebellion always caused war, whilst resistance to the laws and regulations of the community led to expulsion from the village. There was no criminal class in Samoa, nor were those who had been punished for any crime despised on account of it.

The word for covenant (*feangainga*) expresses principally the relationship between the members of families or between the chief and the heads of families in his village, and it is thought by some that the meaning of agreement or covenant is one which has been lately adopted. It is certain, however, that covenants were made and observed. A covenant was made with Tonga that they would never again return to Samoa to fight, but only to trade, and that has been observed ever since it was made.

Covenants were also made in war time, especially when the vanguards met for the first time. Presents of *'ava* would be exchanged, complimentary speeches made, and the question as to when the fight was to commence would be discussed. If the decision was arrived at that they should not fight until the next morning, the respective combatants would sleep near to each other with the utmost confidence. Sometimes also a truce would be effected by the opposing parties during a war. A few cocoa-nut leaflets or other emblem of *Nafanua*, one of the national war-gods, would be laid between them, and after this was done they would meet and converse together without fear, as this compact was never broken. I do not know of any special ceremonies in connection with the declaration of peace between contending parties. Peace was only made on the submission of one party, and this was not done, as a rule, until their villages had been burnt, their trees injured or killed, and they themselves compelled to flee to some neutral town. The critical time was when these refugees had to be settled again in their villages by the people to whom they had fled for refuge, and who were morally obliged to take them back. They always attempted to do this by mediating with the conquering party, but if their good offices were refused they were compelled to make common cause with their guests and take them back by force if necessary. This was an implied covenant from the fact that they had received the refugees. In the case of house or canoe building no covenant or agreement was made. The party wishing to build would take a fine mat to the master carpenter, and if this was accepted it was understood that he would build the house. No amount was specified for the work to be done, but payment was made by the employer at certain recognised stages in the work of building. In the case of a house, when the two sides and one of the semicircular ends were finished the full payment had to be taken to the carpenter and his assistants. If they were satisfied, the house would be finished, but if not, the workmen would simply absent themselves, and no carpenter throughout the group dared to finish the work; so that a house standing unfinished, it might be for months or even years, was a significant sign that the carpenters were on strike. Any attempt to finish the house by any other workmen would be strongly resented, and the workmen assaulted or killed. There was no possible chance of finishing the house except by submission to the demands of the builders, or by effecting a compromise with them.

In disputed cases and judicial proceedings, the oath was not taken by the accuser or by any of the witnesses, but only by the accused or suspected person or persons. In this way a whole village would sometimes have to clear themselves by taking an oath. This was done in many ways. One symbolic form was that of digging a hole in the open space (*malae*) in which meetings were held. The meaning of it was, "May I die or be buried if I have done this!" Many other symbolic forms were used, such as touching the eye, pretending to cut with a knife, which actions meant the imprecation of blindness or violent death if he were speaking falsely. In the olden days these oaths were often taken upon some emblem or object which was intimately connected with the worship of some particular god. When the oath was taken the suspected parties would lay their hands upon it and invoke the destruction of the god if they had committed the offence of which they were suspected or were speaking falsely. I never heard of any blood covenant, nor was the act of eating and drinking together used to confirm covenants. As a matter of fact, it was not etiquette for the hosts to eat any of the food which they supplied to their visitors. There was nothing whatever in the form of an oath, or even of a covenant, in words used at marriage.

CHAPTER X

GOVERNMENT, LAWS, TABU

There was no government so called in New Britain except that form of jurisdiction or power represented by the secret societies and that exercised by chiefs, who were supposed to possess exceptional powers of sorcery and witchcraft. These powers were very real, owing, I think, principally to two reasons—one of which was that the men themselves thoroughly believed that they were the possessors of the powers which they claimed, and the other was that the people themselves believed that the men really possessed them. There was indeed the title of chief (*todaru*) claimed and also given to them by the people; but this was not the result of any election or necessarily by inheritance, it was simply that a certain man claimed to be the possessor of these powers and succeeded in convincing the people that he really possessed them. The brother, however, or the eldest son of a celebrated chief was naturally supposed to have acquired some of his powers, and so usually inherited the prestige which his brother or father had acquired, especially if he were a man of strong character. There were no petty chiefs, except in some cases where the head of some family succeeded in convincing the people that he too was the possessor of powers of magic, or that he had acquired them by purchase from some sorcerer. There was, however, no form of government outside that of the secret societies, and the only revenue collected was that which was obtained by the members of these societies for alleged breaches of some of their regulations. These regulations, indeed, were practically the only laws which existed. Territorial divisions were only those of the respective villages, the boundaries of which were the regular fighting-places in any dispute or quarrel between the districts. No chief possessed a title to lands other than those belonging to his own family. Each family was possessed of lands, the boundaries of which were well known, and over which the respective families exercised full control. This, I think, is proved by a curious custom which was often observed at the funeral of a dead chief. A man wishing to have or to occupy a piece of land would give some *diwara*, a small piece of which was then tied round the leg or arm of the deceased chief and buried with him. The man who gave the *diwara* would thus secure a piece of land of which he became the owner during his life. When he died, however, the land at once reverted to the family of the chief. I think there was no other form of conveyance except payment for lands. This constituted a real title, for in all cases where we purchased a small piece for a mission station the possession has never been disputed. The people in New Britain, as also in Eastern Polynesia, make a distinction between the ownership of land and that of fruit trees planted on it. If a man, for instance, gave permission to another person to make a garden and plant trees on a piece of waste land belonging to him, he did not in any way alienate the fee-simple of the land; but the man who planted the trees on it could and would claim them as his own property, even though he had given up the use of the land to the owner, so that one man might be the legal owner of the land, but another would own the edible trees on it. This made it very important in purchasing land from natives that the purchaser should always ascertain at the same time whether any of the fruit trees on it were the property of other individuals, as the man or men who sold the land could not sell the fruit trees which another man had planted. There were no restrictions placed on the pursuit of game over any land, nor was trespass considered to be any offence against the owner. The facts of the community being divided into two exogamous classes, and that the children were members of the mother's class, prevented the inheritance of real property by the sons from the father, as the father's land was the property of one class, to which the sons belonging to another class had no claim. There were no regular courts held for the trial of offenders except those held by the secret societies, at which it was not considered necessary, nor was it often possible, for the supposed offender to be present. Punishment for any offence, real or supposititious, was carried out by the offended individual or by the members of his family, except where the offence was considered to be one against the whole community, in which case the reprisal would be made by all the people of the village affected. The decisions, however, of the Dukduk were enforced by a visit from the masked figures, one of whom, the *tubuan*, would squat down in front of the house of the accused person. This is described on pp. 69, 70.

The *tabu* on certain places and upon fruit trees was often imposed by the Dukduk Society, either on its own account or in consequence of fees given to it by individuals who preferred to have their trees protected by the more powerful *tabu* of the society than trust to their own individual *tabu*. The *tabu*, however, was not confined to the secret societies, but might be imposed by any chief who was supposed to possess exceptional powers of magic, or even by the owner himself. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain whether the breach of certain customs can properly be described as a violation of a *tabu* imposed in days gone by, or whether it was simply a breach of a custom which had virtually become law. There is no difficulty whatever in deciding this where outward symbols, such as a circlet of cocoa-nut leaves round the trees or any other symbols, are used, whether these are affixed by a secret society, by a chief, or by any ordinary person, but in other cases it is difficult to say whether the natives believe that the same powers of magic as would be exercised in any breach of the *tabu* would also be exercised where any recognised custom is violated or not. No particular food, either animal or vegetable, is prohibited to the people as a whole, but, as I have already described, the pig and certain other animals are absolutely forbidden to the initiated members of the Iniat Society. I think that the reason for the prohibition against the eating of certain animals by the members of those secret societies was due to the fact that they are or were recognised totems amongst them, and this, I think, is proved by the fact that the Iniat Society still has images made of stone or wood roughly cut or carved into the representations of these animals, and that the society is divided into classes, to one or other of which, I think, one of these animals was the recognised totem. I have already mentioned that certain food is abstained from during pregnancy, and I have given also the reasons which are alleged for abstaining from them. If a man was wounded and was under treatment, no man who had recently slept with a woman, nor any woman who had recently slept with a man, could visit him. He would certainly die if this were done. One day at least must elapse before any one who has had sexual intercourse with another can come into the presence of a wounded man. This restriction, however, does not apply in cases of ordinary sickness, but they apply in full force in the case of a woman in child-birth, and the child will surely die if it is violated. Sexual intercourse is also forbidden whilst the Dukduk, Iniat, and some Malira ceremonies are being carried on; also whilst some new song-dances are being learned. If a man has slept with his wife he is sure to sing wrongly. A man also is forbidden to sleep with his wife when he is going shark-fishing. It is probable that some food was also abstained from at certain other periods of life, but I have no accurate information on the subject, with the exception that the cuttle-fish (*tauka*) was not eaten by warriors lest they should become slow or cowardly. Food which was absolutely forbidden to members of certain societies or to families of which the animal to be eaten might be the totem would be eaten with impunity by others who were not members of the society and who did not regard the animal as their totem. I do not know of any persons being forbidden to feed themselves or to touch their food with their hands. In Fiji a man was not permitted to touch human flesh with his hands when eating it, a special fork being provided for the purpose, but I never heard of any such prohibition in Duke of York Island. There are many prohibitions against eating with, touching, speaking to, or calling by name certain relatives, such as mother-in-law, son-in-law, and others. A native will never speak of these by their names: they are his *nimuan*, that is, people whose names he is forbidden to mention, and with whom certain prohibitions are connected. The reason, I think, is one connected with the regulations of class relationship. The man's wife and her mother are both members of the same class, and consequently are in theory both of them his wives, but some advance in public opinion has caused this to be regarded as being wrong, and hence the prohibition, and this applies also to the relationship between a wife and her mother with certain members of the husband's family. I do not think that the names of deceased chiefs were specially avoided or forbidden to be used, though the natives do not often use them, except in appeals for help through the medium of the sorcerer. The *tabu* generally is used for the protection of property. It has sometimes been described to be simply a prohibition, such as a regulation to "keep off the grass" in public parks or private grounds, but it is, I think, much more than this.

The *tabu* owes its power not merely to the fact that it is a prohibition against entering a certain place or taking certain fruits, nor simply to the fear of the penalty that may be inflicted by the owner of the property or by the chiefs or societies imposing the *tabu*, but to a dread of some supernatural powers of magic which will certainly be exercised upon the offender even if the violation of the *tabu* has not been discovered. It is more than an order to "keep off the grass," because behind it there is an unseen power which in some way will certainly punish a breach of the regulations. It is, I think, a restriction of an ancient right; and I believe that in some places where the natives agree to put it in force they leave their houses for a time and flee into the bush lest the vengeance of their ancestors for the innovation should overtake them. The late Dr. Fison says: "As the notion of individual right to property asserts itself against the old initial right, and especially as chieftainship arises and establishes itself, the *tabu* becomes more frequent, and the right of asserting it is vested in individuals." The Rev. W. E. Bromilow gives the following account of the *tabu* at Dobu in British New Guinea:—

> There are two classes of *tabu* here: one, the *tabu* of custom, which, according to the law of tradition, ought never to be broken; the other, the *tabu* of the sorcerer, which can only be taken off by the man who puts it on; unless in the case of his decease, when another of his class can take it off.
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> Take the *tabu* of the sorcerer first. If a man wishes to keep others off his cocoa-nut plantation, or garden, or off a road leading into his property, he will procure the service of some sorcerer near or far, who will perform incantations, spray chewed betel-nut and ginger from his mouth, and tie cocoa-nut leaves or bunches of grass together as a sign to every one to keep off. Any one breaking the *tabu* will be afflicted with scrofulous sores. This is the only way to keep off thieves—with the exception of the spear. The thief generally escapes the spear, because, as the owner of the property stolen is at once judge, jury, and executioner, there is a good look-out kept. Hence the necessity for the

tabu to punish the offender. Since the establishment of law and order the spear has been put aside, and in some cases the *tabu*. One noted thief openly boasted of his thefts, and says he will continue to steal wherever there is no *tabu*.

To take off a *tabu* the presence of the sorcerer is again required, when further payment is made in food.

The *tabu* of custom enters so much into the life of the people that a few instances will serve to illustrate its far-reaching effects.

It is *tabu*:—

1. To marry into a mother's village.

2. To eat the cocoa-nuts, yams, or betel-nuts in a father's village.

3. To partake of a feast prepared in mourning for a father.

4. To partake of food or use a cooking-pot belonging to people who have eaten one's relations. This *tabu* may be taken off by the *taria* or peace-offering.

5. To mention the names of relations by marriage, or dear friends.

(The breaking of 2, 3, and 4 causes the stomach to swell until death ensues.)

6. Those who eat *kokoa*, or the bodies from the graves, are *tabu*, and therefore their cooking-pots, etc., are not to be used by any one else or any food prepared by them to be partaken of. (When Boiakuta was found to have eaten her sister's body, no one would eat from her pot, and even fruit she had picked was refused.)

7. It is *tabu* for children to go into the bush in the heat of the day, or to go out of the immediate precincts of the village at night.

(At birth there seems to be no *tabu*.)

8. At betrothal it is *tabu* to eat in the presence of your betrothed's relations. The breaking of this, no matter for what reason, leads to divorce of the probationary marriage.

(At death there are many *tabu* customs.)

9. It is *tabu* to name the dead.

10. *Tabu* to speak above a whisper until a feast of fish is prepared, of which only certain relations can partake.

11. *Tabu* for children to eat from deceased father's or mother's gardens.

12. If a man dies it is *tabu* for either men or women to carry as the men do—on the shoulder.

13. If a woman dies it is *tabu* for men and women to carry as the women do—on the head.

14. Widowers and widows are strictly *tabu*. A certain time must elapse, during which they are secluded from the light, a further time from being without a covering, from walking about to pay visits, and from bathing.

(There are *tabu* from fish, pork, and good yams. Widows must not wear good dresses.)

15. Should a girl die, it is *tabu* to approach the village dressed in anything but the commonest robe, lest the friends should be reminded of the way the deceased used to dress.

The word *tabu* is used with its pronominal suffixes; thus, "These cocoa-nuts are from my father's village, therefore they are *tabucu*, that is, *tabu*, to me."

The *tabu* was, I think, more extensively used in Samoa in the olden days than in Melanesia, and the same or even greater fear of some supernatural power being connected with it was felt by them. This fear has to a great extent passed away in later times, and the *tabu* is now often used to express simply a decision of the rulers of a town or district, or of a single individual. The inhabitants of a village or town, for instance, who may determine on some great feast or ceremony to be carried out will make all pigs *tabu* for some months previously, and no man can kill any of his pigs until that *tabu* is removed. In the same way, if they wish to purchase a boat, they will make all the cocoa-nuts *tabu* for some time, in order that each family may be able to pay their share of the levy to be imposed. In Samoa, as in New Britain and other places, it is difficult to say which prohibitions belong strictly to the *tabu*, the infraction of which would be followed by punishment from some supernatural power, and the prohibitions of custom which would only be followed by penalties inflicted by the rulers. To the first class belong, I think, those hieroglyphical *tabus* which are still very common in Samoa. These, which are generally expressed by plaiting cocoa-nut leaf fronds and affixing them to the tree in some particular shape, by hillocks of sand with reeds, or by small mats with cocoa-nut leaflets and streamers affixed, express the wish or imprecation that any offender may be stricken by thunder, may die a sudden death, may have his property consumed by rats, may have dreadful pains in his head, ulcers on his body, or be eaten by a shark, etc. etc., are still used as *tabus*, though the people have lost all fear as to the results which would follow the infraction of any of them. They are, however, still efficacious to a considerable extent in preventing theft. Another *tabu* of that class which existed was that forbidding any family to eat the particular animal which was supposed to be the totem or representative (*ata*) of their particular family god, but this, I think, has long passed away. The following incident is interesting and also amusing, showing as it does the old fear of consequences which they had, and the way in which they got rid of it. When a certain family was abandoning heathenism they deemed it necessary to prove their sincerity by eating their totem animal, which they had formerly worshipped as the *ata* or representative of their *aitu*, or god. The *aitu* of this particular family was represented by the fowl, and of course they ought not to have eaten that animal "for fear it should crow in their stomachs." The desire, however, to eat fowl to prove their sincerity prevailed over the superstition, and yet they could not eat it without some fear of the consequences which might result from their action. A happy idea, however, presented itself, and as this just suited their wishes and was very easy to accomplish, they at once adopted it, and so when they killed the fowl they took the feathers and blew them away as an offering to the *aitu*, whilst they themselves ate the body.

To this class belong also, I think, the prohibitions with regard to *alii paia* or sacred chiefs. The person of one of these was *tabu* or *paia*. He might not be touched by any one. His food was thrown to him. Water had to be sprinkled over any one who went near him, and also over the place on which he had been sitting. Those attending even his dead body could not feed themselves while so engaged. If, as in the case of *Pe'a*, the name was also that of some animal, it was at once changed, and could never be spoken in that particular district. *Pe'a*, for instance, is the common word for the flying-fox, but in the district in which the chief lived or when spoken in his presence anywhere, the name used was *manu langi* or bird of heaven. At Matautu neither the words *titi* nor *vave* could be used, because these were the names of two gods in that village. The former, which was the name of the girdle or apron of *ti* leaves worn by all the people, was changed to *noa*. *Vave*, which meant swiftly, had the synonym *taalise* substituted for it. The ripe fruit of the cocoa-nut called *popo* was altered at Sapapālii to *niu mangu-*

mangu. It was probably owing also to the fear of some supernatural power that the persons of heralds or messengers were sacred in war. A messenger of the land never went off the path or made any show of respect to other people. A general *tabu* might be imposed by the rulers met in council, but any individual could put a *tabu* at any time on his own trees, and this would certainly be respected. There were many other *tabus* or actions which were sacred (*sa*), some of which were probably originally connected with old superstitions. It was *sa*, for instance, to pass along the road or to go through a village where a chief was lying dead. The whole of the lagoon was also *tabu* for a long time after his decease and no fishing was allowed, nor could any canoes travel on it. I am inclined to believe that such prohibitions as these had their origin in the belief that the spirit of the deceased chief was still in the village or on the lagoon. Other prohibitions were probably only marks of respect, such as that forbidding any one to stand up to steer or pilot a canoe or boat when passing a chief's house, or to sing when going through certain passages in the reef. It was also forbidden to step over the leg of another individual, or to throw anything over the head of another. A man would express most violent rage if any one, even in jest, threw or sprinkled water on the head of his child. The anger was so great that it is difficult to account for it except on the supposition that some evil meaning was attached to the action. It was forbidden for any one to stand upright when passing in front of another who was seated on the ground; and all work involving any chopping or beating would be stopped if any person were travelling on the road for fear the traveller would regard the beating as equivalent to beating himself, or as expressing a wish that he might be beaten. It was indeed dangerous at any time to use any symbolic act, or to call for anything that was sharp in the presence of another without using an apologetic phrase for doing so. An umbrella carried open past the house of a chief was a great insult. This appears to be a modern addition to the rules of etiquette, but in olden days it was considered to be a great insult for any travelling party to carry a lighted torch past the house of a chief; this action would certainly have caused a fight. Many of these customs are still observed; but the reasons for which they were established no longer exist amongst the Samoans of the present day.

The system of government in Samoa shows a very great advance upon that which existed in most of the Melanesian groups. The exogamous system existing in Melanesia has practically passed away, leaving only a few traces in some families of the old system of totemism. With the decay of that system and the advance of culture, descent through the father replaced the old custom of descent through the mother. The immediate effect of this was the establishment of hereditary chieftainship, whereby the brother of the deceased chief or his son naturally became chief in succession to the deceased brother or father. In the course of time it is probable, I think, that the deceased ancestors came to be regarded as gods, and this probably accounts for the large number of district and family gods which the old Samoans feared and worshipped. The sorcerer, instead of exercising the powers of magic independently, became simply the medium between the gods and the people. The chiefs of highest rank were known as *alii paia*, or sacred chiefs, to whom great deference was always shown. Their pedigree was traced for twenty or more generations, and carefully preserved, especially by the spokesmen or orators (*tulafales*). They were the possessors of certain titles bestowed by some of the ruling towns or villages. Their persons were considered sacred. No one might sit beside them, a vacant place being always left on each side of the seat of honour in which they sat. Their food was also sacred, so that none might eat what they had left. Their dependents prostrated themselves in the dust, and raising the chief's foot rubbed the sole of it on their faces. They were always addressed in the highest terms either as *susunga* or *afionga*. The ceremonies of inauguration were peculiar. A man, stark naked, climbed up a cocoa-nut tree, picked a nut, and instead of letting it fall to the ground, as is usually done, he brought it down carefully in his hand, and the water contained in it was then used for sprinkling over those who took part in the ceremonies for the purpose of guarding against any evil consequences. The titles by which these chiefs attained their high position were not hereditary, but were each of them in the gift of certain ruling towns or villages, and when four of the principal titles were conferred upon any one individual he was said to be *tafaifa*, and was called *o le tupu*, or king of Samoa. The following account of conferring the title of *Tonu-mai-pea*, which was in the gift of the town of Satupaitea, will illustrate the usual custom on such occasions. The first proceeding, after it was decided to confer the title, was for Asiata and some of the heads of families, Faleupolu, to go to the chief whom they intended to honour in his own house, and, standing upright in his presence, to address him as *afionga*, thus using the highest name for chief. One or more of the *tulafales*, still standing in front of him, would call in a loud voice, "U-U-Ū," dwelling for a long time on the last vowel. He was thus recognised as Pe'a, and *Sa le Mataafa* went and sat beside him. After this the ceremony of calling his *'ava* was gone through. The chiefs and the newly-made Pe'a sat in the house, whilst the whole of the *aumanga* (those who chewed the root) sat outside with Sa Toleafoa. Sa le Mataafa then went to their *api* or dwelling-house, which is sacred (*sa*) to every one else, brought from there a number of water-bottles, and also the *'ava*-bowl (*tanoa*), rushed out, dug up a root of *'ava*, brought it on a stick and hove it down in front of Sa le Mataafa. The principal member of that family then directed some of them to cut it into small pieces. The men jumped up and cut the root with a kind of sharpened wooden axe, as if they were killing some one. After this was done one of Sa le Mataafa took the pieces, cleaned them, and divided them in smaller pieces for chewing. He then went with the water-bottles and gave to each of the chewers some water with which they were to rinse their mouths. This was done three times, after which a piece of *'ava* was given to each man to chew. After the *'ava* was chewed each one put it into a leaf in his hand, as it was forbidden (*sa*) to be touched. Some chief got up, first walked to the *tanoa* and deposited his piece of chewed *'ava* in it, and afterwards each of the other chewers did the same. The *tanoa* was then taken into the house where the chiefs were all assembled. The newly-made Pe'a sat in one of the ends of the house with a Sa le Mataafa near him. Umumao sat in one corner and Lia in the other corner. These were called *tafai*, meaning those privileged to sit on the right and left of a titled chief. When the *'ava* was ready the man who dispensed it called out to the Sa le Mataafa, who was near to the chief, "*Tali lau ipu*" ("Receive your cup"). He then went in front of Pe'a, crouched before him, and held the cup out. The man who was going to dispense the *'ava* first took a cup of water and sprinkled the path, then he returned, dipped the *'ava*-cup full, poured it back into the *tanoa*, dipped it again, and repeated the process several times. In ordinary custom the cup is filled by letting the infusion drop from the strainer, but in the case of a sacred chief this is not allowed. The man then took the cup, and holding it up high over the head of the Sa le Mataafa who was holding out the cup of Pe'a, let some of the infusion fall on him and some into the cup. This was given to Pe'a, after which all the assembled chiefs cried "U-U-Ū," and the shout was taken up by the people outside. The man who had dipped up the *'ava* then stood still until another one went to him with water, with which he washed the cup and sprinkled himself all over to wash away the sacredness (*paia*). The cup was then presented to the other chiefs, after which they all partook of a little food; the share of Pe'a, however, was thrown to him, as is the usual custom with sacred chiefs. So far as I know, none of these chiefs were so high as not to work on their plantations. There were many chiefs besides these great titled chiefs, but their authority was principally confined to their own villages. Next to the chiefs were the councillors (*tulafales* or *faipule*), and they generally exercised greater power than the chiefs. This has been more apparent of late years than was formerly the case, and is due in a great measure to the subdivision of the names and titles of chiefs. In the olden days the clans were held together under one head, but of late years, as the old chiefs have died, different members of the family have each assumed the name, so that, in some instances, where the title was formerly borne by one man, five or six now claim and use it. This has caused jealousy between the respective claimants, and has tended in no small degree to strengthen the power of the *tulafales*. Females could not succeed to any of the great titles, but there were many chieftainesses in their own right.

With regard to hereditary chieftainship, and apart altogether from the conferred title *ao*, the oldest brother would be the probable successor of a deceased chief. The power of a chief was very limited, but this depended very much upon his personal character. If, in addition to his hereditary rank, he were a man possessed of great powers of self-assertion, he would become practically supreme in his village or district. A petty chief had little or no influence except amongst his own family and immediate connections. The system of government was local, so far as regards the several villages, but there was also a federation of the villages into districts, of which one of the principal villages was considered to be the head and the ruling town. A *fono* or meeting called by the ruling town would generally be held in the *malae* of that town, and would be attended by representatives from all the other towns and villages. At these meetings the general policy of the district with regard to any contemplated action would be discussed and decided. There was no power, however, to enforce the decisions of the *fono* upon any town which might dissent from them. The office of councillor (*faipule*) was hereditary in certain families. They succeeded in the same way as the chief, the next oldest brother generally taking the name and position. The real power in any village was with the *faipules*. They made laws, levied fines, and generally ruled the village.

The laws regarding the possession of lands were very definite. Every family owned certain portions of land in the town and the garden land adjoining to it, and in some cases individuals had certain portions under their own control. There were also territorial divisions to all the bush or unoccupied land, and in no case did the whole of the land belong to the chiefs. The title was by inheritance, though in some few cases plots might be purchased. A gift of land did not create a title unless a return present was made, in which case it was considered equivalent to a purchase; otherwise a gift might be resumed on the displeasure of the giver. Only in the conveyance of the sovereignty over a village was there a form of conveyance, and this, I think, was very rarely exercised. A village wishing to sever its political connection with one district, and to become connected with an adjoining district, wrapped up some earth and stones in a piece of the prepared bark of the paper mulberry, and took it to the rulers of the district as an expression of their wish and as conveying the sovereignty to it. Lands might be held by females in any family of which the male members had died. This was also the case with infants. There was, however, no remedy except club law in the case of encroachments on land or quarrels about boundaries. There were no game laws in Samoa. Wild pigs, pigeons, and any other animals were hunted anywhere. The same custom applied with regard to fishing, except that no one could fish upon the heaps of stones built by certain individuals or families as refuges and traps for fish, and in some particular places any one fishing there was expected to give a toll of the fish to the chief who owned the fishing-ground.

The laws with regard to inheritance were that the brother of the deceased would succeed, or failing him, a nephew or one of the sons. The eldest son had no exclusive claim or even preference. A daughter would only succeed when male heirs failed. In some cases the dying head of the family would apportion part of the estate, and his wishes would generally be respected. Relationships were traced far back, and failing an heir amid the immediate relatives, they would go to a distant part of the island to fetch some one related to them to be head of the family.

Courts for the administration of justice consisted of the heads of families, who deliberated on any case affecting the village. No regular officers were appointed in the village, the young men always carrying out the sentences of the older men. There was no recognised principle of procedure at these meetings. Some speaker would describe the offence, and it was not at all necessary that the accused should be present: nor would he be allowed there unless he had a seat in the council; in that case he might deny the charge, and would then be confronted with the accuser. There was generally one or more in the council who had the right of naming the punishment (*totongi le sala*).

There was no oath administered, and no torture was ever used. An accused person, or some witness, might take an oath, and in those cases perjury was supposed to be punished by disease and death. Any one who was ill soon after he had taken an oath was supposed to have perjured himself. The ordinary course of procedure was for some speaker to describe the offence, and a fine was then imposed on the offender. Sometimes these fines were very large; as much as a thousand head of taro and a thousand fish, all cooked, would have to be taken to the councillors on the next day of meeting. In other cases the fine would consist of from one to twenty or thirty pigs. In these cases the whole family of the offender would join in the payment of the fine. Offences against other villages were often visited with very severe punishment, because such offences might lead to war. The following instance will be an example of this, and also an illustration of the custom of the people. A youth saw a canoe drawn up on the beach of a small uninhabited bay. It was loaded with native produce, and the owner had gone to his plantation to bring down some additional produce. The youth launched the canoe, and took it off to his own village with its freight. A few days afterwards the owner, passing through that village, recognised his canoe, and claimed it. The rulers of the village were very much ashamed, and probably were also afraid, and so decided to take the young man, with his feet and hands bound, carried on a pole in the same way as they usually carried a pig, and put him down in the place of assembly (*malae*) in the village in which the owner of the canoe resided. The family, however, of the young man, being numerous and respectable, resolved to oppose the disgraceful punishment, and preferred to fight rather than submit to it. On hearing of this determination the rulers decided that they themselves would make reparation rather than fight with the family of the young man. They therefore determined to go in a body, and bow down (*ifo*) to the people of the offended village. The way in which that particular *ifonga* would have been carried out is that which I have already described as evidence of the fact that the Samoans were once cannibals. They would have taken stones, firewood, and green leaves used to stuff the inside of a pig preparatory to cooking it, and going into the *malae* would have bowed their foreheads down to the ground, and presented the articles. By doing this they practically said, "Here we are to be cooked and eaten by you as a reparation for the wrong which we have done you. We have here brought the things necessary for that purpose." In this instance, however, the *ifonga* was not carried out, for no sooner did the culprit and his friends hear of this determination than they followed in all haste, overtook the party, and gave up the youth. The reason for this change of conduct was the belief that such an act of humiliation on the part of the rulers of the people would bring a curse on those who caused it which would end in the death of many of the family. When the united party reached the outskirts of the village the young man was tied, carried on a pole, and laid down in the *malae*. As soon as this was done the principal speaker of the offended town stepped forth, forbidding the act, and calling to his family to bring out a fine and valuable mat with which to "untie the hands" of the culprit. The mat was to cover up the disgrace of his being bound in such a way. In many cases the whole family were punished for the offence of one or more of its members, and in these cases a large number of men would be sent to enforce the decisions of the elders by taking away the property of the family, or in some cases by banishing them from the village. In some cases of theft the culprit was compelled to bite the root of the *teve*, a very acrid plant, which inflamed the whole of the mouth and effectually prevented the culprit from eating for several days. If food was stolen by some person in the village from visitors whilst they slept, the whole of the residents were sometimes gathered together and each made to swear that he was innocent, and so incur the penalty which would certainly be inflicted by the gods if he swore falsely. If the thief confessed, he would be fined some pigs, and these would be taken and presented to the offended visitors. Death was never inflicted as a punishment decreed, except, I believe, in one instance many years ago. An injured man, however, especially in the case of adultery or the murder of some relative, often retaliated by killing the offender, and was not considered culpable for so doing. Mutilation and flogging were quite unknown, as was also imprisonment. Very often the punishments inflicted were very severe and quite disproportionate to the offence committed.

CHAPTER XI

ARITHMETIC, MONEY, MEASURES, TRADE

In New Britain (Duke of York Island) they generally count on the fingers up to five only in the first instance. They have, however, a word for six, but as a general rule the count goes on from 5 to 5 and 1, 5 and 2, etc., up to 10. The words used for the numerals up to 5 are *ra*, 1; *ruadi*, 2; *tuludi*, 3; *watdi*, 4; *limadi*, 5; then *limadi ma ra*, 6; *limadi ma ruadi*, 7, etc.; then *noina*, 10; 10 and 1, 11; 10 and 5 for 15; 10 and 5 and 1, 16; 10 and 5 and 2 for 17; then *ru noina*, or two tens, for 20. Strangely, however, when counting couples they count up to 20, and have words which in most cases are precisely the same as those used in Polynesia for 7, 8, and 9. *Ti kai*, one couple; *u rua*, two couples; then *u tul, lu wat, ti lim, ma nom, ma wit, ti wal, ti wa*, mean respectively 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 couples, whilst *ti kino* means 10 couples (20). The word probably meant also complete, like the Samoan words *'a'ato* and *atoa*. This shows, I think, that though they did not use the fingers and toes in counting to 20, they still associated the idea of completeness or a complete person with the numeral 20. This is also shown by the words *takai nara*, meaning 20 shells (money). The word *nara* is not now used for man, but it still means "such a one" or "so-and-so," so that *takai nara* very probably at one time signified one person. There is also the phrase *kakidat ma limadat*, literally, our feet and hands repeated several times, to signify a great number. On the other hand, though, as already stated, they counted only to 5, there is a word in the language, *i bana*, to express incompleteness of any number under 10. They also use *ru lima*, 2 fives, for 10. They counted on the hand to 5, beginning on the thumb for 1 up to *limadi*, 5; then the thumb in the palm of the hand was 6; thumb and forefinger in the palm of the hand, 7, and so on to 10; then little finger unloosed, 11, and so on to 15; then thumb grasped again, 16, and so on to 20. In addition to the phrase *kakidat ma limadat*, our feet and hands repeated often, for a great number, they also use the terms *a maramara*, hundred, hundred; *a kami*, a nest of ants; *a pidut*, nest of white ants, to express great numbers. The word *lima*, for 5, also means the hand. They had different words for counting *diwara* (shell-money): *takai nara* meant 20 shells; *tula no tip*, 30; *ru i nara*, 40; *ru i nara ma no tip*, 50; *tula win nara*, 60. This was called *ra taben*, and was equal to a measure of *diwara* loosely looped round the wrist. Beginning again with the *taben* as the measure of quantity, *ru ara* was equal to 2 *taben*, but was called by a different name. *Inagawa* was equal to 3 *taben*; *wat na ara*, 4 *taben*; *lima*, 5; *ru win a gawa*, 6; *a gagawa*, 7; *ru wat na ara*, 8; *ru lima*, 10 *taben*. The word *tip* must, I think, be the original word for a single shell, though I do not remember hearing it used in that sense. This was probably because being such a small quantity it was not used alone as currency; but *tula no tip*, *i.e.* 30

tip, means 30 shells, and *tula win nara ma lima na win tip*, *i.e.* 3 × 20 + 5, is 65 shells. This is as it was given to me, but it might perhaps have been also expressed by *ra taben ma lima na tip.* They also counted cocoa-nuts, taro, yams, etc., by fours: *ra kuren*, 4 nuts; *ru kuren*, 8; *tula kuren*, 12; *wat na kuren*, 16; *lima kuren*, 20; *limadi ma ruadi kuren*, 28; *kabinaina kuren*, 40; *rua kabinaina kuren*, 80; *mara na kabinaina*, 400. They knew nothing of subtraction, multiplication, or division except by counting. This was occasionally done mentally, but generally with the aid of marks or objects used as counters. There were, however, no figures or ciphers used except a mark for each ten. I never knew of a form such as 1 less 5 used for 4 as in Roman notation; but 10 less 1 was often used for 9, and occasionally 10 less 2 for 8. *Ru wat*, literally two fours, was also used for the latter number.

Money was extensively used by all the New Britain people with whom we are acquainted, and it may be safely asserted that in its various forms of *diwara* on Duke of York, *tambu* on New Britain, *pele* on Mioko (Duke of York), and *aringit* on New Ireland it constitutes a regular standard of value. *Tambu* or *diwara* was made from a small shell *Nassa immersa*, which was obtained from the north coast of New Britain, known as Nakanai. It was gathered there by the natives, principally, I believe, from the roots of mangrove trees. The shells seemed to have little or no commercial value in the district in which they were collected except for purposes of exchange and for ornamenting the large spears used in that district. They were passed along the coast from one village to another until they reached the villages which were visited by parties from the Gazelle Peninsula who went regularly to purchase them. The shells are about three-eighths of an inch in length. In the form in which they were purchased by the visitors they were wrapped up in bundles covered with the leaves of the pandanus. Before they were used as currency the back was removed by placing the shell in the indented eye of a cocoa-nut or some similar object, and then chipping off the top very neatly with a piece of pearl shell so as to leave an aperture through which the vine or strip of cane on which the shells were threaded could be inserted. When first purchased the shells had a dull brown colour and were of very little value. They only became valuable as in the course of time they were bleached, and this, so far as we know at present, could only be accomplished by light, time, and constant handling. After the aperture was made in the shells they were threaded on strips of cane 2 or 3 feet in length scraped to the required size. These were afterwards joined together by splitting the end of one piece down the centre and then inserting the end of the other piece, pared into a wedge shape, after which some shells were drawn over it, thus joining the two together. When a man had accumulated more of this money than he required for ordinary barter, he would make it up into coils containing from 50 to 200 fathoms. The basis of these coils consisted of a large hoop of cane round which leaves were twisted, and on this the *diwara* was fastened. There were generally some pieces of crab shell or other object to mark the divisions between a certain number of fathoms. These rings when completed were very rarely broken into except for some special purpose. They were generally stored by the owner and exhibited from time to time as a sign of his great wealth; it was indeed his accumulated capital, but capital that was rarely or ever drawn upon. The *tambu* or *diwara* was the national currency just as much as the coinage of any civilised country. A man wanting betel-nut would twist off a few shells and tender them as recognised payment. Fish, yams, taro, lime, bananas, puddings, birds, pigs, canoes, slaves, turtle-shell, and wives all had their recognised value and were paid for by twisting off the required number of shells or measuring off the number of fathoms agreed to as the price of the purchase. This recognised value was, however, affected by the law of supply and demand which obtains in more civilised communities, and the recognition of this law by the New Britain natives presents a marked contrast to the conduct of the Samoans. During the American War, when the price of cotton was very high in Europe, the traders in Samoa were able to give comparatively high prices for the cotton, but after the war was finished and the price of cotton fell in Europe these prices could not be paid; the consequence was that many of the Samoans refused to acknowledge the validity of the reason, and rather than accept a lower price allowed the cotton to rot upon the trees. The New Britain natives, on the contrary, always recognised any altered state of the market. As, for instance, when we first landed, the recognised price for a stick of tobacco was a fathom of *diwara*. In the course of time, after the traders came, tobacco was more plentiful and the natives promptly reduced the price to about 1½ yard instead of the fathom, and when stocks of tobacco became still larger the prices went down to 3 feet or less, but on any occasion when tobacco was scarce the amount of *diwara* to be paid for it would be increased; the price, in fact, rose and fell in accordance with the supply of the article and the demand for it. This is just one instance of the trading customs, but it is characteristic of the whole conduct of the people. They were, notwithstanding their limited intercourse with surrounding villages of the district, essentially a trading people and fully recognised the value of any introduced articles as mediums of exchange or currency. Tobacco, for instance, was at once adopted as a suitable currency in addition to their *diwara.* They had words for buying (*kul*); selling, borrowing (*aringliman*); lending (*ga*); interest (*wawaturu*); pawning (*vuvuring*); to get on trust (*wenua*); a phrase *ruma na ungwebat*, which might be translated pawnshop. They had also words for security, extortionate, under-selling, and a phrase which meant compelled to sell at a sacrifice, showing that buyers in New Britain sometimes took advantage of the position in which the man who wished to realise was placed. In New Britain there were recognised market days (*bung*) held at certain fixed places, to which the bush people brought their yams, taro, bananas, etc., the coast people their fish, tobacco, and other articles which they had procured from the traders, and exchanges were made either by barter or sale. The natives also went on long trading expeditions to distant localities, but always well armed, and all trading was done under very strict precautions against treachery. The articles bought on these journeys were canoes, cuscus teeth, pigs, slaves, etc., and these were generally resold at a considerable profit on the return of the party. The man who was in possession of a large amount of *diwara* would always be applied to in any case where money was needed. Any one wishing to borrow for the purpose of paying initiation fees, the price of a wife for his son or himself, etc., would apply to him, and if the *diwara* was given he would have to return it with an additional fathom for every 10 which he had received, *i.e.* he paid 10 per cent on the transaction. The money would generally be advanced without security, especially if the lender was possessed of sufficient power to enforce his demand for repayment *vi et armis* if necessary, but sometimes the borrower had to deposit something as security. If, for instance, he had himself a coil of *diwara* which he was unwilling to break, he could lodge it as security and obtain the amount which he required, trusting to his success in trading to procure enough to repay the loan and so keep his coil intact. The borrower, especially if he were a young man and had no security to lodge, would always be expected to assist the lender in any work of fight when called upon.

The use of money also formed an important part of their judicial and business customs. One of our teachers had a quantity of property stolen by some person in the village in which he lived. I went to a chief there, informed him of the offence, and asked his help in recovering the property. After a while he told me that I had better take his own canoe away with me. Acting on this advice, I took the canoe, and this immediately led to the discovery of the thief, who was thus compelled not only to return the property, but to make restitution at once to the chief for having temporarily lost the use of his canoe. He probably suspected some one as having committed the offence, but was powerless in the matter until some injury had been done to himself. On another occasion a chief had very improperly seized a quantity of *diwara* for which I held myself to be responsible. I applied to him several times, and he told me that he would return the money, but failed to do so. On the last occasion I begged him not to trouble himself at all about it, that I would get the money from another chief, whom I named. This alarmed my debtor, and he at once found the *diwara*, which he had previously said he could not do. He did this for the following reasons :—Suppose the amount owing was 50 fathoms. He knew that I would take 5 fathoms and give them to the chief who possessed more power and influence than my debtor did. The chief would then give me 50 fathoms, the amount owing, and he would take care that the debtor returned him 55 fathoms in repayment, so that he would secure 20 per cent upon the transaction. My debtor thought it best to pay me the 50 fathoms rather than be compelled to pay 55 in a few days. This plan was constantly adopted by the people themselves. A man who could not collect money owing to him would give a chief 1 fathom for every 10 which he claimed, and the chief would then collect an additional fathom from the debtor for each of the 10 fathoms he had advanced.

If a man named Kalag, which means a pearl shell, owed a native 10 fathoms of *diwara*, the creditor, if he were not able to mention his debtor's name, would take or send a piece of pearl shell and 1 fathom of *diwara* to a chief and would then receive from him the 10 fathoms, which the debtor would have to repay by giving the chief 11 fathoms. If the debtor's name was Kabag, white or lime, a piece of lime would be taken ; if Marang, brown, a dead leaf, etc. etc.

On another occasion several of our tomahawks had been stolen, but in this instance we knew the thief. Acting on the advice of the chief in whose village I lived, I presented the chief of the town of the debtor with some articles of barter and requested his assistance. He immediately paid me 20 fathoms of shell-money for one of the missing tomahawks which had been taken by one of his people. The thief had then to return the money with an additional payment to the chief for collecting it. Another mode was to break a leaf or dracæna plant in the chief's garden or injure his canoe, and to place near it some sign to make known the name of the debtor and also the amount. Suppose, for instance, that the man's name was Kada, which means a vine, and that he owed 5 fathoms. The sign put up would be a piece of vine and a symbol for 5. The chief would then demand payment from the debtor for the injury done to his property, but in this case the creditor would not receive anything. Another plan will be explained by the following incident. A chief was engaged in the erection of a house, and in the progress of the work he had lost an American axe. After searching for it some time in vain he concluded that some one had stolen it, and so he set fire to the house he had just finished for the double purpose of showing his anger and to make the thief pay for the damage done. Trade was carried on by both men and women, but entirely on their own account. The villagers did not work as servants or slaves of the chief; any work which was done for him was always paid for. I do not think that any craft was hereditary or restricted to certain families. The building of canoes was often the special work of some towns, but this was only because of suitable timber being found near them. Other towns were celebrated for their fish-traps, and others for the quantities of food they produced, and these places were generally visited to purchase any of those articles which might be required. The value of canoes was from 20 to 50 fathoms for large ones, and a proportionate amount for the smaller ones. Pigs were valued at from 5 to 10 fathoms, and other articles in proportion. Small amounts of *diwara* were measured by a loose ring round the wrist, from the hand to the elbow, from the middle of the chest to the end of the fingers, from the end of the fingers to the elbow of the opposite arm, and from the span of both arms. These remarks apply only to the *tambu* or *diwara*, but a valuable money made on New Ireland called *aringit* was measured from the space between the two nipples, and one of these pieces would be worth more than a fathom of *diwara*, but was not so extensively used. Another kind of money made in Mioko in Duke of York Island was called *pele*, and this was measured in the same way as the *aringit*, but was not so valuable, being principally used for purchasing the *Nassa immesa* shells at Nakanai. The shells of which this money was made were first roughly broken into small circular pieces. Holes were then drilled through the centre, after which the rough pieces were threaded on long strings. One end of the string was fastened to a post and a man then took a large piece of pumice and ground them down by rubbing to a uniform size, turning the string whilst doing so. Dogs' teeth, cuscus teeth, and the teeth of the flying-fox, which were used for ornamenting necklaces, were also used as barter. Most offences could be condoned by a liberal use of *diwara*.

I have already noticed in the account given of peace-making that payment had to be made for each person killed on either side. The offence of adultery, if not avenged by death, might be condoned by a heavy payment to the injured husband.

The Samoans counted on their fingers, beginning with the little finger and ending at the thumb. The word for hand and for the numeral 5 was *lima*. The two hands were called a complete number, *sefulu 'a'ato*, or simply *ua 'a'ato*, *i.e.* they are complete. They did not speak of 5 as a complete number, nor did they count hands and feet as being a complete number. The Loyalty islanders count both hands and feet, 20 being called one man, 100 was 5 men, but this did not obtain in Samoa. In keeping a count of the number of tens the Samoans sometimes used pebbles or the fronds of cocoa-nut leaves. These latter were often used when apportioning out a large number of baskets of food. The names for the cardinals in order were *tasi*, *lua*, *tolu*, *fa*, *lima*, *ono*, *fitu*, *valu*, *iva*, *se fulu* (10). The word for 10 (*fulu*) is a feather or hair of the body. Two tens were called *lua fulu* or two feathers, and so on to 100 (*selau*), for which they had a leaf. A *lua lau* was 200, a *tolungalau* 300, etc.; *e afe* was 1000, *e lua afe* 2000, *e tolunga afe* was 3000, etc.; a *mano* was 10,000, beyond which they did not go. All beyond was *mano mano* or *ilu*, *i.e.* innumerable. The lower numerals had mostly a meaning in addition to that of the numbers they signified, but apparently having no connection. The reduplication of *lua* (2), *lualua*, was used for a few, and that of *selau* (100), *selau selau*, was used for a great many. Numeration went by tens, *i.e.* 11 was 10 and 1; 12, 10 and 2, etc. That 10 was regarded as a complete number is also shown by the fact that in counting articles such as baskets of food into tens, if the final one was incomplete, it was still counted as ten, but with words signifying it to be incomplete, *e.g.* *sefulu i le valu*, literally a 10 consisting of 8; *sefulu i le iva*, a 10 consisting of 9. All articles of food had each a particular term of their own used in counting them. Cocoa-nuts, which were tied in pairs, were counted in couples up to 20, thus *seaea*, a score. Sixty-five would be counted 3 score and 2 couples and an odd one. In counting men the word *to'a* was always prefixed—*to'atasi*, one man, *to'alua*, two men, etc. The word *miliona* has been introduced in comparatively late years for million. The Samoans knew nothing of the rules of arithmetic, but they were able to divide some thousands of fishes, baskets of food, pieces of native cloth, etc., amongst a large number of persons with great accuracy. This was done by collecting the number of fronds—each one of which represented ten of the number of articles—making a rough division, then calculating so many had been taken how many were left, and so completing the division.

No figures or ciphers were used in the olden days, and no complex calculations were required in trade or barter. There was no money or any articles which could be used as a standard of exchangeable value in Samoa such as the *diwara* in New Britain. The communistic customs according to which every member of the family could beg without fear of refusal any articles belonging to a member of the same family practically prevented any great extension of trade. No member of a family could demand an equivalent return for any article which a relative desired to possess. The fine mats for which the Samoans were celebrated had not only a value measured by the fineness of the plait and the size of the mat, but also a sentimental and yet real value attaching to them from their individual history. Many of the oldest and best mats, *ie taua*, had distinct names given them, and acquired great value amongst the Samoans if they had been used as the "top mat" on any great occasion such as the marriage of some celebrated virgin (*taupou*), or at peace-making on the conclusion of some war. Many of the most valuable mats were old and torn, but were eagerly sought after by the Samoans. Some of them would be valued as high as 80 or 100 dollars. The native cloth which is made from the bark of the paper mulberry, and which ranges in value from 1s. or 2s. for a small piece to 4 or 5 dollars for a larger one used as a mosquito-screen, was also much used in interchanges of property. The name for the fine mats is *ie*, and for the native cloth, *siapo*, but when property is interchanged the covering name for both these is *tōnga*. While there was little or no actual buying and selling, there was a considerable interchange of property on many occasions in addition to that which was consequent on the communistic relationship of families. At a marriage, for instance, it was the duty of the bridegroom and his family to bring *oloa*, as distinguished from the *tōnga*, which was provided by the bride and her family. The *oloa* consisted of house, canoes, foreign property, and, in fact, almost anything but mats and native cloth, which were provided by the bride and her family as her dowry.

Whilst the Samoans could not be called a trading people in the general acceptation of the term, they still had certain articles which were sold or bartered amongst themselves in addition to the produce, which was sold to the white traders. Turmeric and arrowroot were made in certain districts, and the former article especially was sometimes hawked about from village to village and exchanged for native cloth, etc. Nets, paddles, and wooden bowls were also bartered in the same way. No raw materials were introduced, but all kinds of manufactured ironmongery and calico dresses were imported and eagerly purchased. The only article of export was, in years gone by, cocoa-nut oil, but the manufacture of this has long been abandoned, and the cocoa-nut is now dried and sold in the form of copra. Each household supplied itself with almost everything that was necessary for common use or for the purchase of imported articles. Many trades were carried on by the men, such as boat- and house-building, tattooing, etc. These were not strictly hereditary, though certain families, the members of which had practised the several trades for many generations, acquired a prestige. Any man, however, could attach himself to some craftsman of any occupation, and when he had acquired sufficient knowledge could commence business on his own account. The women were principally employed in mat- and fan-making, in the manufacture of native cloth, and other similar occupations. Both men and women were engaged in all work connected with food production, cooking and fishing. There was no degradation whatever attached to work, and the most skilful man, whatever his position might be, was always the one most sought after for special work. The girls were engaged in fishing, drawing water, weeding, and collecting the torches for the evening fire. Some boys began very early to make plantations and to carry comparatively heavy burdens. To carry the basket of tools belonging to a chief builder, who was always distinguished from his men, was the sign of a youth who was learning a trade. A shed thatched with plaited cocoa-nut leaves was put up for the use of the builders. Each particular trade or employment had its presiding god, and was governed by certain well-known regulations. They formed, indeed, a trade union which was remarkably effective. Their regulations prescribed the times of payment at different stages of the work in which they were engaged, and these were always strictly observed. If the head of a family, for instance, decided to build a house, he would first make extensive plantations of food, collect a large amount of native property, and then approach a builder. A fine mat would be presented, and this, if accepted by the builder, was an agreement on his part to do the work. He and his workmen could always command the help of the members of the family in cutting down timber, carrying it from the bush, and doing any unskilled labour that they might be requested to do. The carpenters also had to be supplied with food and *'ava* every day whilst the work was in progress, and if they deemed the food to be insufficient or of bad quality, their absence from work conveyed that intimation to the family. Payment had to be made at different times: one, the *taunga*, on summoning the workmen; another instalment, *o le oloa*, when the centre post and ridge pole were erected; a third, *o le sa*, when the sides were finished. This payment was understood to be for certain defined work, such as the measuring, the digging of the post holes for the centre posts, for the elevation of the ridge poles, for preparing the timbers to which the purlins of the house were fastened, for cutting off the ends of the rafters, payment for workmen cutting timber in the forest, and another for lashing the rafters and cross pieces together. The principal payment was given when the two sides and one of the semicircular ends were finished. The man for whom the house was being built generally impoverished himself and his family in providing the payment for the work which was being carried on. It was considered a great honour to be spoken of as a man who had been lavish in the payment made to the workmen, and disgrace to have it said of him that he had treated them shabbily. Samoans were generally very sensitive to shame, and the dread of being called mean often caused them to pay an excessive price for the work. If, however, the builders were dissatisfied, they would leave the house unfinished, and it was a strict rule amongst all builders that no one could finish a job which was abandoned. Any builder other than the one who began the work, commencing to finish the house, canoe, or other work, would be set upon by all the other carpenters or craftsmen and be severely beaten, whilst his tools would also be taken from him. In some instances, if the builder had practically finished the house before the fourth final payment was made and was then dissatisfied, he would take out a beam before leaving, and no other workman dare replace it, so that any visitors in the house would notice the vacant space and be informed that the owner had not satisfied his carpenter. The regulations with regard to canoe building, tattooing, and many other employments were practically the same.

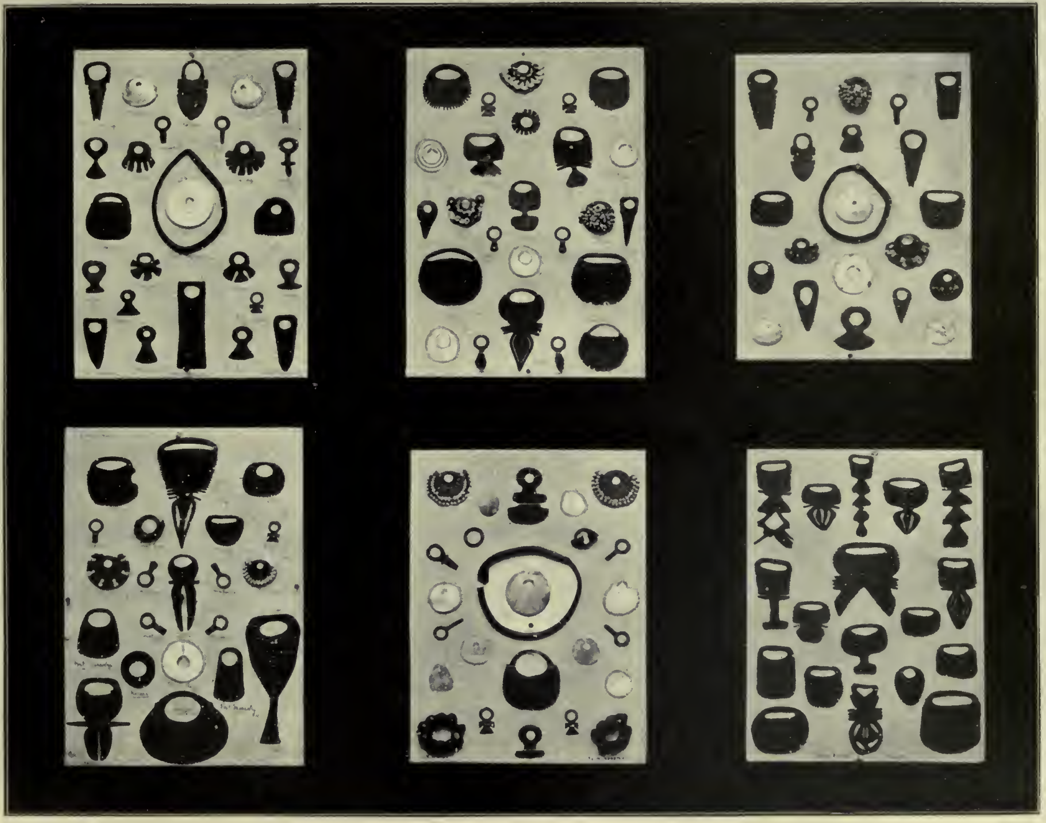
CHAPTER XII

PROPERTY, ORNAMENTS, INDUSTRY, ETC.

In New Britain the rights of private property were fully recognised. Both the husband and the wife had exclusive rights to their own personal property. If, however, the wife managed to accumulate more than the husband thought she was entitled to, he generally managed to trump up some charge against her for which she had to pay. In the case of one woman whom I knew who was one of several wives, her husband inflicted a heavy fine on her because she grumbled at his action in taking one of his other wives to a dance and leaving her at home. She had to pay heavily for this offence. All lands were recognised as belonging to certain families, but I think, though I am not certain, that these properties were again divided as belonging respectively to members of the Maramara or Pikalaba classes respectively. Sometimes a chief who was possessed of greater power than the other members of the family would claim an exclusive right over some portions; but this, if acquiesced in for a while, would certainly lapse on his death and not be continued to his successor. Most if not all of the land was claimed by the respective communities. I knew only of one instance where no owners could be found. This was in the case of some islands lying in the channel between New Britain and Duke of York Island. I wished to purchase them, but could find no owners; they were, in fact, only used by fishing-parties, and any natives so using them would have to fight any other parties who might land whilst they were in possession. I purchased them by dividing the payment out amongst all the neighbouring villages on the mainland.

It is impossible to describe the clothing of the New Britain natives, because, with a few slight exceptions, men, women, and children went about entirely naked. On the mainland of New Britain there were, as far as I know, no exceptions whatever to this rule, except that some leaves were used in dancing, and the same applied to Duke of York Island, with one exception, and that was in the case of the people of Mioko, where the women wore a few leaves of dried banana leaf. On New Ireland men and children were all naked, but the women wore a tuft of dyed flax in front and a similar one behind. In some of the dances on New Britain and Duke of York Island, when a few leaves were worn, they were worn at the back of the person and not in front. It would be considered very improper if a New Ireland woman appeared without the tuft of fibre, which did duty for a dress, however slight it might be. In the present day most of the coast people and many of those inland wear articles of European manufacture. There was not the slightest sense of shame or indecency felt by the people owing to their being naked.

The personal ornaments used were a piece of string round the abdomen, or in later years a string of beads. The men wore armlets made of plaited fibre above the elbow, and similar articles were also worn just above



Ear Ornaments from Port Moresby, New Guinea.

the ankles. On special occasions the men wore necklaces and collars ornamented often with many rows of cuscus teeth. They also wore armlets, some of which were very valuable. These were made from the shell of the clam. These shell ornaments were easily removed, but the plaited ones on the arm were allowed to remain for long periods, and had often to be cut away before they could be removed. Sometimes the hair was allowed to grow to its full length, but this, I think, was principally in the case of men who occupied a high position in the Iniat Society. It was not, however, always worn long even by those individuals. I think it was principally a matter of taste. The hair was generally worn in short tufty curls, and was often altered in colour by the application of lime and some coloured earth. Wigs were worn, but were not common. Beards were also worn, but did not grow to a great length, but whether this was owing to cutting them or not, I cannot say. I do not remember seeing any man with a moustache. The septum of the nose was pierced, and ornaments such as a cassowary quill were worn. A hole was often made also in each nostril and a cuscus tooth inserted. Ear-rings of tortoise-shell or rings of the same material were also worn.

No ornaments were worn in the lips. Girdles of string were worn by the women on New Ireland, to which the tufts of fibre used as clothing were fastened. On New Britain the front part of the human skull was used as a mask for dancing purposes. Eyes, nose, mouth, whiskers, and beard were moulded from earth and lime, and the whole mask was painted in different colours. A piece of wood was fastened at the back across the jawbone, and this was held in the mouth of the dancer, thus bringing the mask in front of his face.

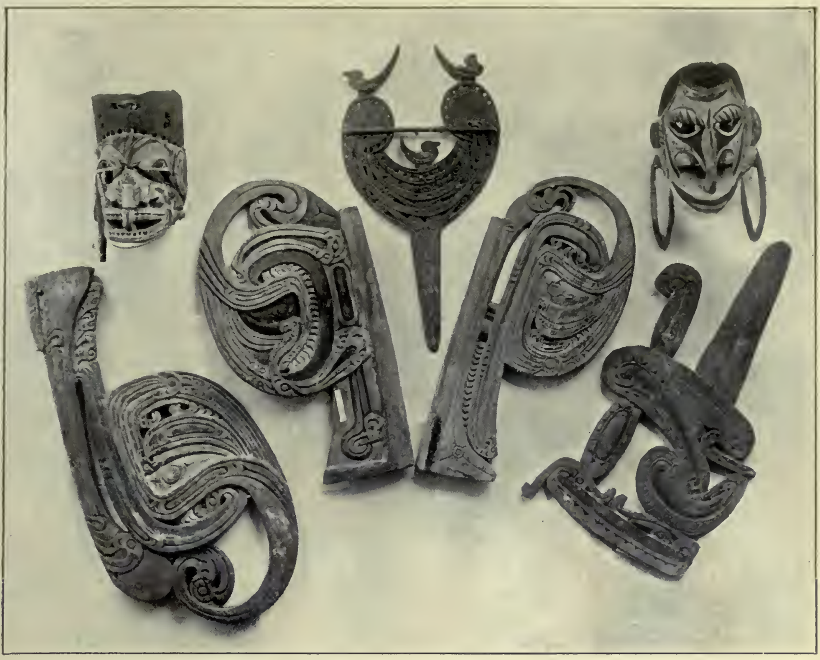
The New Ireland people, as is well known, had masks and objects representing a very great variety of patterns, most of which were derived from representations of human or animal faces and forms.

The string or twine used was twisted. This was generally done on the thigh, but the large ropes used in New Britain for the purpose of anchoring the deep-sea fish-traps were made from vines which were twisted by the hand. No animal fibres were used as string. Nets of various sizes were made on New Britain, and the knot used in making the net was, I believe, precisely the same as is used in all parts of the world. Knotted strings were often used as aids to the memory. There were no mats made in New Britain except some rough ones plaited from the leaves of the cocoa-nut, and consequently no looms were known. In some parts, outside the Gazelle Peninsula, a coarse cloth was manufactured from the bark of the wild bread-fruit. This was dyed a uniform colour, but some small articles made from it were ornamented with different patterns. Bags of various shapes and sizes were netted from string and dyed in regular patterns. No pottery was manufactured. Water or food was heated in wooden bowls by means of hot stones. The people of the Kabakada district on New Britain made very strong and serviceable baskets of various shapes and sizes. These were first shaped and made from cords of some vegetable material, and afterwards covered with an outer bark of ratan, which, I think, was dyed or stained a light brown colour. These baskets in construction and shape, but not in colour, were very similar to those manufactured by the natives of Tonga. No metal or specimens of metal-work have been found in this group. Stone implements were extensively used in New Britain, especially for clubs and as adzes. A round stone about the size of a large orange was generally used as the head of a club. A hole was bored through the stone, in which a long handle made of hard wood was inserted. The hole was not cut by means of any vine or string, but was chipped by means of a pointed stone. This work was facilitated by heating the part to be chipped by blowing on hot charcoal placed on it, and then pouring cold water on it. It was a long and tedious process. The stone, I believe, was a species of granite. After the handle was inserted some kind of cement or putty was used, and on this, whilst soft, a few shells of *diwara* were inserted as ornaments. Whilst the usual shape of the stone club was round, some other forms were used if the stone selected was considered suitable. I have one club from New Ireland which is of exactly the same pattern as that of the round disk-shaped, sharp-edged club so common in New Guinea, but this form was very rare in New Britain. The adzes were made of some kind of green stone, and were of various sizes. It is, however, impossible to describe these fully without illustrations. Nearly all the specimens in my possession are polished, but I think some were chipped on the upper part and only the points or ends polished and sharpened. No flint implements were used, nor were throwing-stones manufactured for use in war. The manufacture of stone clubs was, I think, confined to New Britain. There were certainly none made in Duke of York, and I never heard of their being manufactured on

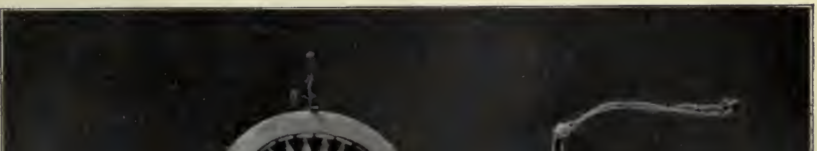
New Ireland, though they were sometimes used by the natives there. The T-shaped drill was used for boring shells. The point of the drill was generally a small piece of quartz.

In Samoa private property both personal and landed was fully recognised, but with certain limitations. Personal property, for instance, was always subject to a demand being made for it by some relative whose request would very rarely be refused. Real property consisted of town sites, garden lands near the villages, and the interior waste or bush lands. Every family had its fully recognised and inalienable right to its village and garden lands, and the boundaries of these were well known. Every piece of land in the villages or suburbs had its owner. The personal rights of some individuals to certain sites and lands were recognised, but as a general rule the lands belonged to the family as a whole, though the recognised head of the family exercised a supreme right. The waste lands belonged to the village community, and the boundaries of these lands with those of other districts were well known. In the event of the sale of any portion of these lands the whole community would claim a share, and in the case of a sale made by the head of the family of any piece of the family land, the consent of the other members of the family was deemed necessary by them, and a claim would also be made for a share of the proceeds. The next oldest brother was considered to be the legitimate heir to the title and lands, though this was sometimes waived by the brother in favour of one of the sons. Property was sometimes divided at the request of a dying man whilst he was living, but the division was more commonly carried out after his death.

The usual dress of the natives was a girdle of *ti*-leaves (*Cordyline terminalis*). These were gathered when the leaves had turned yellow. This was the ordinary working dress of males and females. The girdles reached to the knees. Men have adopted in comparatively recent times a small apron, made from a purple species of the small plant, only a few inches in length. This is principally worn at war times and in dances. The general dress at the present day is a wrapper of print or calico. On special occasions the men put on a large wrapper of native cloth, and over this a fine mat was worn. On these occasions, and also when married, the women often wore a white shaggy flax mat, *ie sina*. This was so worn as to show part of one thigh. There was no special distinction made in the clothing of the sexes in recent years, but the older men assert that formerly the *siapo* or native cloth was only worn by women. There were no peculiarities of dress restricted to certain tribes. The *maro* or T-bandage was worn by males only, I think, in war time. Every woman made the girdles for herself, her husband, and children. Most of them could also make the native cloth, but the fine and shaggy mats were generally made by old women who were proficient in the art. Some of the finest mats occupied many months in making. In the olden days there was nothing to correspond with what is generally known as fashion in dress, but in later years the Samoans have shown themselves to be as particular about fashion as some of their more civilised sisters are. Anything on the head was always removed on going into the presence of a chief, and the string confining the long hair which was worn in olden days would also be removed. To enter the presence of a chief with the hair tied up would be considered as a great breach of etiquette. The only head-covering worn was a piece of native cloth bound round the head as a kind of turban. This was specially used when fishing or boating. A piece of banana leaf was also tied round the head so as to keep the hair dry. Sunshades made of a piece of plaited cocoa-nut leaf were used by those engaged in fishing for the bonito. No idea of indecency was attached to the very small girdle worn by the men, or to the women having their breasts uncovered. Little children were quite naked for the first few years. No coverings were worn on the feet except a kind of sandal used to protect the feet when walking over the rough coral on the reef. No special ornaments were worn as symbols of rank or as peculiar to either sex, except that the frontlet or crown (*pale*) and the *tuinga* or wig made from women's hair were generally worn by chiefs; but I do not think there was anything to prevent any individual from wearing them, and, as a matter of fact, both of them are now often worn by young females. A particular mode of dressing the hair was used as a symbol of virginity, the head being shaved down the middle and the hair left long on either side. This was sometimes plaited (*tu tangita*), and on other occasions wound round the forehead and hanging loosely over the shoulders. The hair of males was allowed to grow long, but that of the women was cut short and made to stand up. Limp hair that would not stand up was very much disliked: it was called *lauulu*



Carvings on Canoes, S.E. New Guinea.



Ornaments from New Britain, carved from very thin Tortoise-shell and placed on Shell Discs.

valea or foolish hair. Lime was used to alter the colour of the hair and also to stiffen it. It was often mixed with earth, but this did not, I think, impart any permanent colour. They never tried to plait or twist the hair into ringlets except as described in the case of unmarried females, who wore their long locks plaited as a sign of virginity. Feathers, flowers, frontlets of small shells, necklaces of flowers, shells, etc., were worn, and also armlets and bracelets. A boar's tusk was often worn by men as a pendant on the breast. Ear-rings were not worn, but ornaments were often placed behind the ear. Finger-rings made from tortoise-shell have become fashionable of late years. Leglets of white shells or of shredded *ti*-leaf and anklets were worn. They were easily removable and were only used on public occasions. No weapons or other objects were inserted between them and the body. Girdles were worn occasionally, but only to keep up the wrapper. In time of war the girdles were drawn tight to enable the men to run without losing their breath, and they said that in times of famine tightening the girdle helped them to bear hunger. The body was sometimes ornamented by burning marks with a rudely-made *moxa* or the heated bowl of a tobacco-pipe. They had but little hair on the face, and this was generally shaved or plucked out. Two cockle-shells or a shark's tooth were used for cutting the hair and shaving, but it was often plucked out by the roots. Many forms were adopted in ornamenting the native cloth. The ordinary kind used for general wear and for mosquito-nets was printed by means of block-printing. The pattern was made by raised fibres sewn on to dry leaves of the pandanus. The cloth was spread over the block and the dye rubbed on to it by means of a tuber of arrowroot or some such article. Many of the patterns were very beautiful and regular. Dyes were prepared from the inner bark of the root of the Malay apple (*Eugenia Malaccensis*) with sea-water and lime, yellow from turmeric and oil, purple from the mountain plantain, and brown and black from other articles. Cocoa-nut fibre was used for sinnet and also for rope. The husk was first beaten with a mallet to separate the fibres and to remove the woody matter. Two or three of the fibres were then twisted on the thigh, made into small bundles to be afterwards plaited into sinnet. This was the regular occupation of the men in all spare time. It was used for house and canoe building, making ropes and other purposes. The fibres of the *faupata* (*Cypholophus macrocephalus*) were made into string, after being scraped with a shell to separate and clean them. This string also was made by twisting it on the thigh. It was used for making nets, fishing-lines, and for tying to the legs of the tame pigeon, and was also plaited into the shaggy mat already described. There were no articles which required sewing except the mosquito-curtain. Knotted ropes or strings were not, I think, used as aids to the memory.

The materials used in basket-work were the cocoa-nut leaf for the ordinary baskets, and the pandanus leaf for the finer kinds. Those plaited from the cocoa-nut leaf were rough baskets in which food either raw or cooked and other articles were carried. They were generally thrown away after the first use. A finer kind of basket was made for carrying fish when caught. Very pretty ornamented baskets were plaited from a fine kind of pandanus leaf and were often ornamented with finely-wrought chequer-work. Others were oval-shaped and were made with a special form of plait. The pandanus leaf was prepared by stripping off the serrated edges and drying in the sun. The square baskets were often made with a cover and handle of the same material. Fans of many designs were made from the top of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut. No pottery was manufactured in Samoa, nor were any metals used prior to their introduction from Europe. No skins were prepared except the skins of shark and some other fish, which were used only as rasps for smoothing wood-work. Stone axes and adzes of various kinds were used in canoe and house building and other work, which were often beautifully finished. These axes were principally made on the island of Tutuila from a close-grained basalt found there. The rougher ones were chipped, but the finer ones were ground. A punch made of a shell was used to punch out the hole through which the sinnet was drawn to fasten the planks of the canoe together. Many of these canoes were water-tight, though only stone implements had been used in the construction of them.

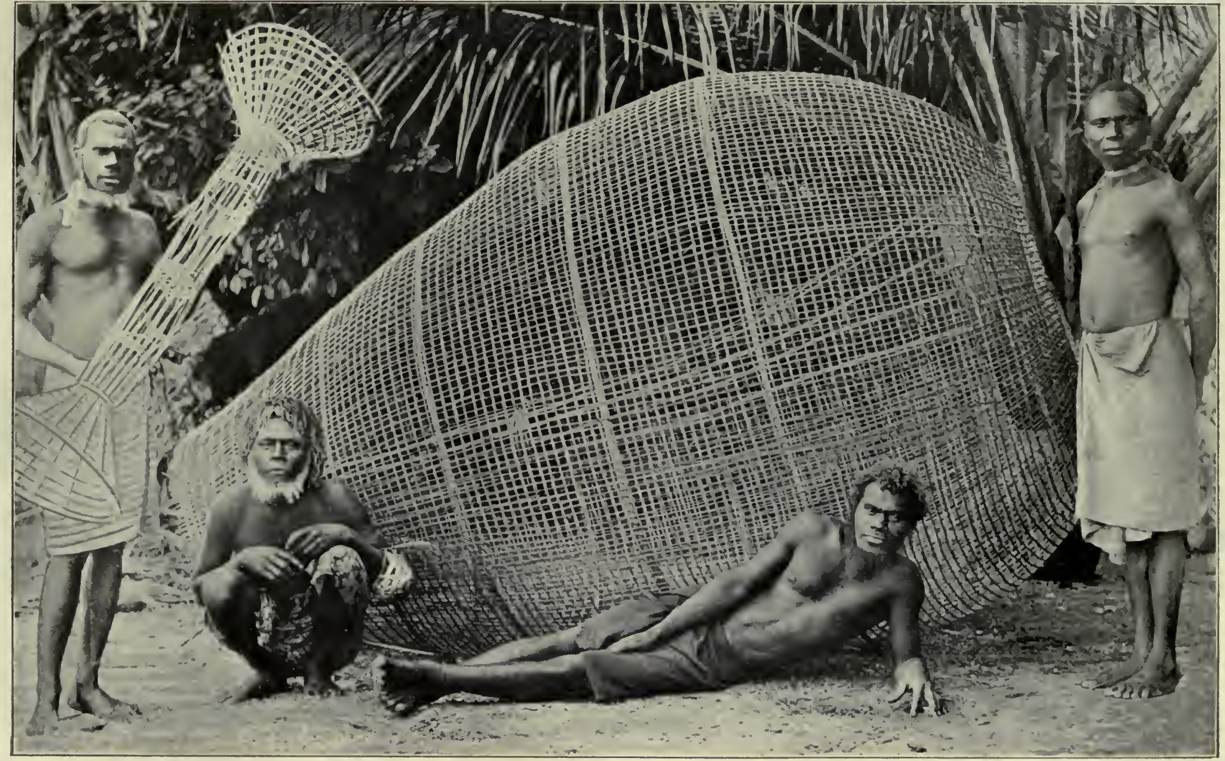
CHAPTER XIII

HUNTING, FISHING, AGRICULTURE, GAMES, ETC.

THE Melanesians are not a nomadic people, but mostly live in villages consisting of a number of small enclosures inhabited by the respective families. These enclosures are either situate on the shore or in the bush within a short distance of it. As the people in any given district generally lived in a state of constant warfare with their neighbours, it was necessary that they should live together for the sake of mutual protection.

Very few domestic animals were kept by them. Pigs were said to be indigenous, but many were kept in a domestic state in the villages. A native dog, having all the characteristics of the Australian dingo, was very common, but of late years the breed has been mixed in the coastal districts with that of dogs imported by the white men. No case of hydrophobia has been known amongst them. Cats have been introduced. Fowls, I believe, were indigenous, for on our first journeys in New Britain we were able to procure both poultry and eggs in large numbers from places which no white men had ever visited. The fowls we got then were generally white, and were very small. Cockatoos were often tamed and kept about the houses. Pigs were killed by strangulation, and this was done by placing a stick across the throat on which a man or woman knelt or stood until the animal was dead. This was not done from any superstitious feeling with regard to the method of killing them, but simply in order that the blood might not be wasted. Large hunting parties were often formed to hunt cassowaries, wallabies, and wild pigs. The two former were generally captured by setting fire to the thick dense grass to leeward of a spot where a large number of the hunting party were stationed. Strong nets were placed at different points, and the men, armed with spears and clubs, guarded every open space through which the animals might attempt to pass. Wild pigs were first brought to bay by dogs, and were then speared by the hunters. The spoils were generally divided amongst all those who had taken part in the hunt and their families; and after a successful hunting expedition every one would feed greedily until the supply was exhausted, as they had no method whatever of preserving meat. I know of no ceremonial dances practised on setting out or returning from these expeditions. I, however, think it probable that they are practised on the large islands where those expeditions take place, and that the omens which were regarded as indicating success or failure in fishing would also influence the people in their hunting expeditions. Like most other natives the New Britain people evince an accurate knowledge of the habits of animals, and decoy them by imitating calls, and by taking advantage of any of the known habits of the animals they are hunting. Snares were often used for capturing birds, and were also placed in the tracks made in the long tall grass in which wallabies, rats, rails, etc., were caught; special traps for rats were also used.

No birds were trained to be used in hawking or fishing. Nets of various sizes and strength were used by both men and women in fishing. The principal modes, however, adopted by males were the fish-trap and the spear. The traps were of various sizes, the smaller ones being used principally in the lagoons and comparatively shallow water. The large ones (*vup-na-babau*), which I think are only made on the mainland of New Britain, were anchored out in deep water. They were made of split bamboos, with plaited ratan vines binding them together. They were about 10 feet long and 6 feet in diameter, and were oblong in shape with an opening at both ends, each of which converged to a hole in the centre of the trap through which the fish entered, but through which they were not able to return. The traps were made so as to stand almost perpendicular in the water; the fishes entered by the top and were not able to escape by descending. When the trap was finished a very heavy anchor was made. This consisted of strong vines made into a large conical-shaped basket, which was filled with heavy stones. A very strong rope was then made of vines twisted together. This was sometimes seventy or more fathoms in length, and was made securely fast to the anchor. The anchor and cable were taken out to sea, the anchor was dropped and the upper end of the cable was buoyed. The large trap was then brought out and fastened to the end of the cable at the desired distance under water. A large floating buoy with a flagstaff (*babau*) was fastened to the trap to show the place where it was. The trap was visited from day to day, and fifty or more fishes were frequently taken away from it and the opening

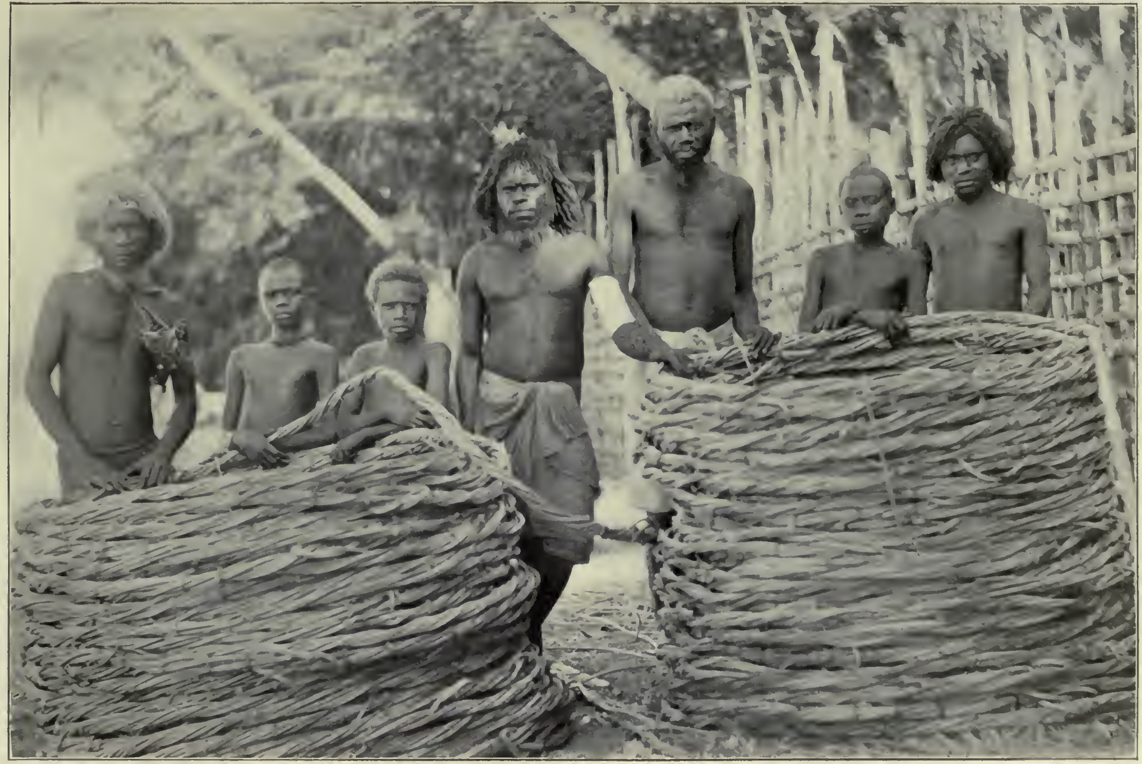


Fish-Trap, New Britain.

closed. Sometimes large numbers of these traps might be seen far out at sea, on the coast-line of some villages, each with its ornamented float to mark the locality. Another very ingenious method was that of constructing a conical-shaped trap made from the branches of the prickly palm, with the hooked thorns pointing inwards to the apex, where a piece of bait was fastened. This was attached to a float, and a number of these were placed in suitable positions. The natives, watching from the shore or from a canoe, could readily tell by the movements of the float when a fish had entered the trap. Fishing spears were often made with five points. Hooks were formerly made of tortoise-shell, but these have been superseded, to a great extent, by the imported fish-hook. They also captured fish by mixing the bruised portions of a species of vine in the water. The effect of this was to stupefy the fish, after which they were easily caught. I have not seen any kite-fishing in New Britain, but this mode is commonly practised in the Solomon Islands, S.E. New Guinea, and many other islands. The Rev. W. E. Bromilow has furnished me with the following account: "The kite is flown from a canoe, so that the cobweb fly is dragged along the top of the water. The garfish (*dimwara*) get their teeth caught in the glutinous *mwanaikua*, the canoe is then backed carefully and the string wound, and then the fish is taken off and the kite flown again. The native names for the several parts are: *daune* (kite), *nosanosa* (string), *'oapenu* (winder), *iuiu* (tail of string), *mwanaikua* (cobweb fly), *doe* (ornamental flag)." Turtles are sometimes preserved alive in ponds. On the lagoon islands of Ontong, Java, and Tasman group the hawk's-bill turtles are kept for many years in covered ponds for the sake of the shell, a portion of which is taken from them every year. I think that the reason why they are kept in a state of comparative darkness is to preserve the yellow or golden colour of the shell as much as possible. Children, men, and women, all take part in fishing, and many of them become very expert in the use of the spear. The children also use small bows, with arrows formed from pointed reeds, for fishing purposes.

Turtles are generally caught when going on the beach to lay their eggs. When the natives see the track made by a turtle, they can generally calculate correctly as to when it will return to deposit another lot of eggs, and so arrange to be on the lookout when the animal comes from the sea, when they turn it on its back and look out for fresh spoils. They say that the turtle is very cunning in obliterating the track which leads to the place where the eggs are deposited, and making another track to lead astray those who may be looking for the eggs. Fish is only preserved by continually re-cooking. There is no particular class of fishermen,—men, women, and children all take part. There are no dams or weirs used on the Gazelle Peninsula, so far as I know. They may, however, be used in other parts of the island, of which I have no knowledge. No birds were used in fishing. The natives of New Britain, as in other parts, display an intimate knowledge of, and have a distinct name for, the different names of fishes, seaweed, and coral.

The people cultivate the soil, and, as a rule, only gather the wild yams, or other spontaneous produce, in times of scarcity. There is no separate class of agriculturists, but all take their share in the labour,



Cable of Twisted Vines for the Trap.

the women, however, always doing the principal part of the work. The men erect the fences round the garden. These are generally made of saplings tied together with vines, and only last for a short time, except when the saplings take root. The women plant, weed the ground, and carry the produce to the villages. They were generally accompanied by the husbands, with spear and tomahawk, but he seldom, if ever, carried a burden. The ground was dug by sharp-pointed sticks. Yam spades have been introduced, but have not become an article of currency as some other articles, such as tobacco and tomahawks, have done. The areca palms were always preserved when found in the forest. The food produce I have already described in Chapter V. Maize has been introduced, but has not been adopted by the people as a regular article of diet. They prepared to plant yams when certain trees cast their leaves. When all the leaves were off, they cut up the yams and planted them when the trees began to bud again, so that the yams and the trees might grow together. The coral tree (*Erythrina indica*) and the hog plum (*Spondias dulcis*) were the two trees most observed. They also planted when certain stars, *e.g.* the Pleiades (*Kaba taplabuna*) were in a certain position. Irrigation was used when practicable, but water was not diverted from any great distance. The people well understood the necessity of allowing land to remain fallow after one or two crops had been taken from it, and the garden sites were regularly changed. No manure was used by them, so far as I know. There are some species of wild bananas in the group, but I do not think that the natives have any idea that the cultivated species were produced from them. The China banana (*Musa cavendishii*) was introduced by us in 1875, and is now widely cultivated. I have sometimes asked the natives what, in their opinion, was the reason why some things were good to eat and others were injurious. The answer given was, "He who made us gives us the food." The principal produce exported is the dried kernel of the cocoa-nut, called copra. They had no domestic animals except those that I have already mentioned. The names of pigeons, crows, fowls, and other birds were often given to men. Pigs were often castrated, and sometimes dogs, but no particular measures were taken to preserve the purity of the breeds. The relations of animals to men were not very definitely defined in the minds of the natives, apart from those which were the totems of the respective families. With regard to these some relationship was certainly presumed, as they were always called "our relatives" (*takunmiat*), but with this exception I think that men and animals were regarded as being quite distinct from each other. Some omens and superstitions connected with animals have been described in Chapter VIII.

Some of the children's games have been also already noticed in Chapter III., to which may be added that of shooting with a bow and arrows at a rolling cocoa-nut thrown by an opponent in the game. So far as I know they had no action or dramatic games, such as are practised in the Fijian *meke* or in New Guinea, nor were there any games which could be called international. The motions of the cassowary were probably imitated by the Dukduk, and in one game they pretended to imitate the action of a small bat (*peapea*). At Port Moresby I

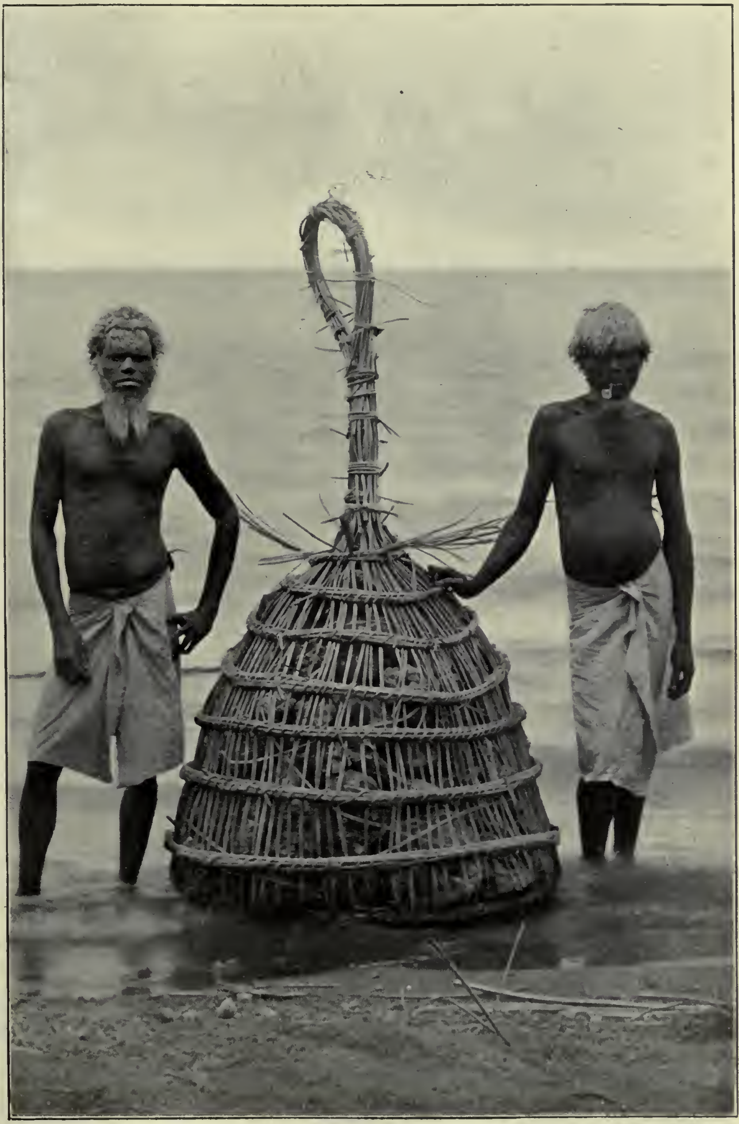


Photo. by Rev. R. H. Rickard.

ANCHOR OF STONES ENCLOSED IN A RATTAN BASKET OR RECEPTACLE.

witnessed a game in which a number of girls formed themselves into a compact body on the beach. This was supposed to represent a ship. They commenced singing, while the young men and boys went and provided themselves with small branches which they waved over their heads, making a hissing noise, which was supposed to represent a gale of wind. Then, advancing from a distance of 200 or 300 yards, they came on, gradually increasing the pace, until they all rushed at once upon the interlocked body of girls with the object of breaking them apart, and so destroying the ship. The game then resembled a regular scrimmage, as at football. The girls stood firm for a while, but gradually the superior weight of the attacking force prevailed, and the ship was broken up. The boys then formed the ship, and the girls represented the storm, but failed to break the ship, though for some time the issue was very doubtful. In another game which I witnessed at Dobu in the d'Entrecasteaux group the girls all sat in a circle and sang a few words; then one who was the leader pretended to strike each girl with a knife, and each one said, as she was shied at, "That knife is blunt"; then each one went through the feint of sharpening the knife; then hands were locked, finger to finger, and a song was sung as each finger was loosened. All this occupied a long time. Then some supposed witches came to kill a girl, and a lot of time was occupied in singing, gesture, language, and actions, until these witches were driven away. Then all the girls stood in a close cluster to represent a bunch of bananas. One was snatched away at a time. The owner of the bananas asked of the "fool or silly person," who was supposed to watch, "Who stole my bananas?" and the answer was, "I don't know." This went on until all the bananas (girls) were taken, when there was a great disturbance; the witches were found, driven away, and the girls rescued. Then there was a game illustrative of a wallaby hunt, and it was most amusing to see the way in which some of the girls imitated the hunted wallabies skipping and jumping away. In New Britain they played at hide and seek. One boy lies on the ground, face downward, and the other boys go round him in a circle crying out "*Papabum*," that is, "Keep your eyes shut, don't look." Then one by one they steal away and hide until only one is left. He keeps on patting the one lying down and calling out "*Papabum.*" Finally, he also goes away, and then the boy lying down gets up and runs about to find the others. Each one whom he discovers has to help to find the others; the one not found or the last one found is the victor, and he has then to take the place of the first boy and *papabum*. Other boys' games are called *kut*, *rupep*, *babop*, and *rapul*. The only game of ball which I witnessed in New Britain was by boys and girls making balls of damp sand, throwing them in the air so as to fall back again into the sea. If the ball burst before reaching the water it was not counted; but if it went higher than the others and struck the water intact, with a hollow sound, a certain number of points were given. No high stakes were played for in any game, nor were animals preserved or trained for fighting with each other.

Action dances were a popular kind of amusement, but it is very difficult to ascertain whether they were practised for amusement only. So far as I could gather, this was the only reason which the natives had, except that they were often engaged in as a mark of respect for a visitor or for the purpose of obtaining money (*diwara*) from the spectators. There was, however, a kind of copyright in them, and one village could not perform a dance which was the property of another village or of an individual in that village without payment. The individual who sold the dance would come and spend a considerable time in teaching the purchasers the motions and songs connected with it. So far as I could gather, the words used have no meaning whatever to the natives themselves. The dances were utterly devoid of any unbecoming gestures, and the men and women always danced separately, the women generally dancing first. The men were ornamented with feather head-dresses, the hair painted in patches of black and red, and most of them had their faces and bodies painted or whitened with lime. They had a large tuft of dracaena leaves hanging down behind from the middle of the back, and all wore a leaf of the same in front. I could not find out the reason why the people, who then went about entirely naked, would thus cover certain parts of their bodies when dancing. The proceedings commenced by all giving a loud shout, and then advancing in double column with a short quick step, occasionally stooping down to the ground and then rising again. Every man had two small sticks ornamented with feathers or other ornament in his hands, which he waved to and fro and raised or depressed as the various movements of the dance required. They appeared also to be used in keeping time. The only musical instrument used was a small hand-drum, in the shape of a large speaking-trumpet, across the mouth of which the dried skin of an iguana was tightly stretched. This was struck by the palm of the hand. The performers all chanted some simple monotonous chant, and the movements of the dance consisted in alternately facing to right and left, with some regular movements and changes of position. One man acted as the leader or conductor. The chief in whose village the dances were held distributed *diwara* to the dancers, and when they had finished another band from another village took their places. The whole affair appeared to be, and I believe was, perfectly harmless and unobjectionable. During some of the dances which I witnessed they had the same singular custom that I saw in connection with the Dukduk. The old chief, Topulu, began dancing, and soon afterwards a man rushed out with his spear, and after capering about and challenging him for a while, he stooped down with his back to the chief, who then gave him a severe blow on the back with a stick which he held in his hand. Some also stooped in front of one of the Dukduks who were present, and he performed the same ceremony. About twenty or thirty men received this beating, and on many of them the stick came down very heavily. *Diwara* was then distributed to all the dancers, and spears, some of them wound round with *diwara*, were given to the chiefs. After this the visitors cut down some trees and pulled up some young cocoa-nut palms. The chief Topulu then gave them a pig, which they took away. At some future time Topulu would, in return, be entertained by Torogud with a dance, would pull up some of his trees and receive a pig from him in return for the entertainment and food which he and his people had received. It appeared to be the custom to distribute *diwara* to all who witnessed the dance, as one of the chiefs came to me and put a long length of it round my neck.

The New Britain natives are not nearly so proficient in swimming as the Polynesians are. It is entirely an acquired art, and is generally learnt in very early life. Many of the bush natives, however, are quite unable to swim, and as a rule the Melanesians are not as fond of bathing as are the Polynesians. The stroke used is the side-stroke. I did not find them to be able to dive to as great a depth or to remain as long in the water as the Polynesians.

There was no slavery in the general acceptation of the term. It was principally confined to an occasional captive taken in war, although in some few cases female children were purchased from the bush natives. Their position in the family, though not in all respects equal to those of the other members, was not a hard one; in fact, in many cases little or no difference appeared to be made in their treatment.

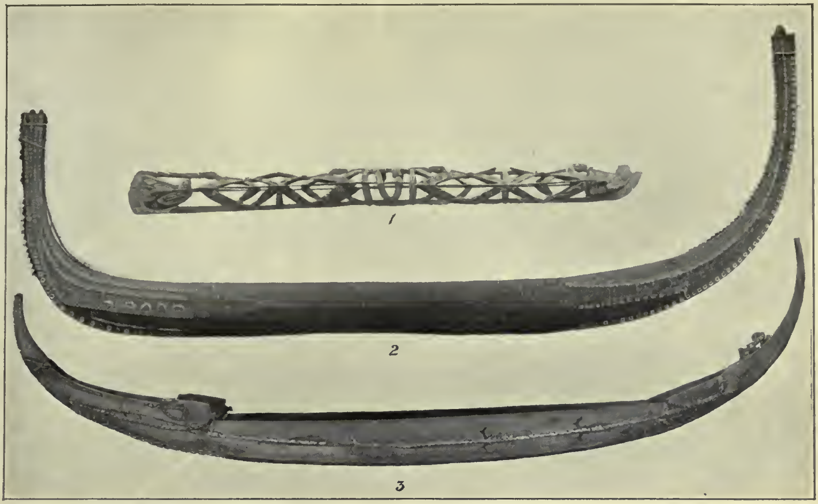
They divided the year into seasons principally by the prevailing winds. The south-east monsoon (*taubara*) was five months, then variable winds (*lubu*), one month; the north-west monsoon (*alaburu*) was also five months; calms (*malila*), one month, making the twelve months altogether. I may say in passing that we had in New Britain, as in Samoa, proofs that the opinion held by all "old hands" in the Pacific that the trade winds and monsoons were much more regular in former days than at the present time is quite correct. The year (*tinoan*) was always five months, that is, the months of the monsoon. They had no name for each month, but only for the season. The day was divided by the position of the sun, and they had words for sunrise, midday, afternoon, when the sun is aslant, sunset, near sunset, and probably some other divisions. Short divisions of time were also expressed by comparative terms, such as *a kakim kuri* (let your feet be as though they had remained here, that is, go quickly), *a galum tiktik* (the throwing of a stick for a short distance), *a molot na tebuan* (a woman's crossing, or the distance a woman would paddle). They had no names for any of the points of the compass except those derived from the trade winds, or local terms such as wind from *birara* or from *lauru.* In addition to ascertaining the time for planting by the budding of certain trees, as already noticed, they were guided also by the position of certain stars. They also steered by the stars, though, as they were seldom out of sight of land, the knowledge to be derived from the position of the stars was not developed to any great extent. Stars were regarded as being the spirits of the dead; the red ones were those who had recently died, the others were those who had been dead for a long time. They were close observers of the phases of the moon (*kalang*), and had separate terms for them, such as, moon not visible; the first quarter of the moon; nearly full moon; about the full, when they hunted for the land crabs; full moon; beginning to wane; moon when seen in the morning; eclipse of the moon, etc. They also measured time between sunset and moonrise by "the smouldering of a torch"; the time occupied in cooking yams, taro, and wild taro. They had terms, also, for the moon of planting time, and of digging time, or harvest.

The canoes generally used by the natives were dug out of soft wood, and had very wide outriggers attached to them. The paddles used were long and pointed. The position of the chief or the most important person in the canoe was in the middle and not in front, as in Polynesia. Some of their canoes which were used for going long distances were built of soft thin planks sewn together on the inside, and the seams covered with a damp-resisting gum obtained from trees. These canoes were called *mon*, and had no sails. They often also went about for a considerable distance in the lagoons on rafts made of a few bamboos which were lashed together.

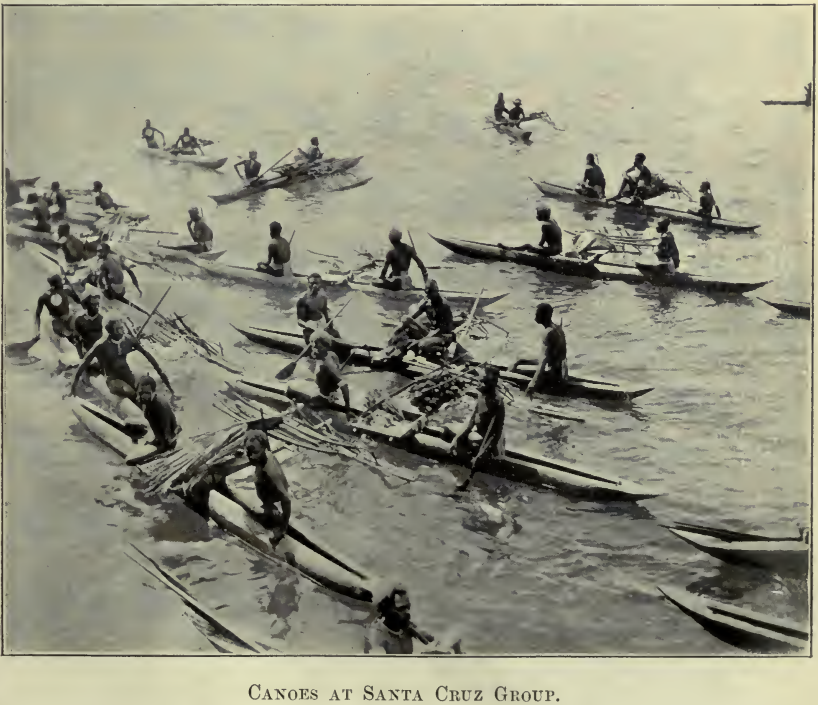
The Samoans, like the Melanesians, are not a nomadic people, but dwell in villages which are practically self-governing and independent communities, though all are connected with certain well-defined districts, each having a ruling town. These towns, however, have no absolute powers of authority or government; and though great respect is always shown to them, the people of any district or even of some town in a district will often dissent from the decisions or desires of the ruling town, and assert their own independence of action.

The domestic animals are the pig, dog, and cat, all of which were introduced. It is doubtful whether fowls were introduced or not. There was a certain well-defined species called the Polynesian fowl, generally of white colour, when the group became fairly known. If this was introduced, it must have been taken to the group many years ago, and there is no tradition of the event. Pigeons were kept as tame birds and as decoys, but they were never bred in captivity. A paroquet, from which they regularly plucked the red feathers with which they ornamented their fine mats, was also kept in captivity. Almost all living things, except the pig, were sacred to some family as their totem. All animals, including the pig, gave names to men. The pig was called by shouting out the word *sau*, that is, "come," and sometimes by blowing the trumpet-shell. Fowls were called by the word *to'uto'u*, a word imitating the call of a fowl. The turkey, which was introduced, was called *pipi* (peepee), from its cry. Dogs and cats lived in the house with the tame birds, all the rest were outside. The pig, indeed, was often called *mea i fafo* (the thing outside), as they did not like to use the name pig. I have never seen a pure native dog, but it must, I think, have existed, as the traditions of the Samoans speak of a war-god that was incarnate in a dog. All kinds of dogs in the present day degenerate rapidly into what appears to be the native type. They seem, however, to be as much attached to their masters as those in civilised countries. Hydrophobia has not been known. Pigs are castrated by cutting with a bamboo knife, and were marked by cutting off the tail, making a hole in or cutting a piece out of the ear. There was no belief amongst the Samoans in transmigration, and a Samoan would feel much insulted if this were even suggested. The only animals forbidden to be killed were the totem animals of the respective families, and the members of a family were only forbidden to kill their own totem. Every family was obliged to feed pigs that they might be able to supply their share in entertaining visitors to the village. As a rule, however, they did not keep a large number, as they could always get them if required for any great work by applying to their relatives. The Samoans smeared their heads with lime to destroy vermin, and also used the juice of the wild orange for cleansing purposes. The only wild animal that was hunted was the pig, and this was often done by parties going out into the bush for several days with trained dogs to bring the pig to bay, when it was speared or shot. The great sport in olden days consisted in catching wild pigeons (*seunga lupe*) in a net by means of tame and trained decoy birds. The people of two villages would leave their homes, and go some two or three miles into the bush, where they built temporary houses, in which men, women, and children would remain often for a week or more. Challenges were given as to which party would capture the greatest number of pigeons. A large space was cleared in some elevated situation, around which they made little hiding-places covered with boughs and leaves, in each of which a man was hidden. The tame decoy pigeon was tied by the leg to the perch by a long string, and this was held in one hand, whilst the other held a long pole, to which was attached a triangular-shaped net. The tame pigeons were allowed to fly to the extreme length of their tether, and their fluttering soon attracted the wild birds. As soon as one of these came within reach of the concealed hunter it would be caught by a rapid swoop of the net. This sport was undoubtedly the most popular of all in days gone by, and is often referred to in their proverbs and speeches, but it is not much practised now. There were no laws or customs for the preservation of game, and every man was entitled to his own spoils, except in combined hunting expeditions, when the spoils were divided amongst all who took part in it. The Samoans evince a very accurate knowledge of the habits of animals, and can often decoy them by imitating their calls.

They were very expert fishermen. The largest fishing parties were those engaged in the *lauloa.* This was generally engaged in by the whole village. The net was made by first twisting the fronds of cocoa-nut leaves to a long rope made of vines, so that the leaflets projected at right angles to the rope. A number of ropes were prepared in this way and joined, and then the whole village helped to drag them, so as to surround a large space of the lagoon. A purse made of mats was fastened to the extreme ends of the ropes. The fishermen were extended in a large circle, and the fish were thus driven into the space occupied by the ropes. These were gradually contracted, driving the fish into the purse, and large numbers were captured in this manner. Another plan, which also necessitated a number of expert fishermen, was the *seu,* which was used principally for the capture of mullet. A large space was enclosed by nets belonging to the respective fishermen, which were joined together so as to enclose a school of mullet. The fishermen stood round a circle, each having a small hand-net extended at the end of a pole, with which they caught the fishes as they leaped from the enclosure. They also practised a very beautiful mode of fishing by means of a long net of fine mesh, which was gathered up in the hand and thrown so as to fall in a circle around a shoal of small fish. Nets were also used to surround heaps of



1. Curious Carving from New Ireland. 2. Model of War Canoe (tomako), Ruviana, Solomon Islands. 3. Model of Canoe, Eastern Solomons.



Canoes at Santa Cruz Group.

dead coral. The blocks of coral were thrown over the net into a fresh heap. The fishes which had been hiding in the heap were then caught, and the blocks of coral left to form a refuge for other fishes. Fish-traps, some of large size, were made of bamboos and vines. Smaller ones were used for catching crayfish. Fish-hooks were made of all sizes, from large shark-hooks to small ones made from fish-bones. Sharks were caught far out at sea by canoes and boats. Bait, consisting of the dry gills of bonito, was trailed in the water, and the shark gradually guided through a noose and so caught. They were often very successful in these expeditions. One of the most beautiful sights to be seen in Samoa in the olden days was the dolphin canoes. These generally had a crew of three with a large sail; and I think it was from the early navigators noticing these canoes with such a spread of sail in a stiff trade wind that caused them to give the name of Navigators' Group to Samoa. When the canoes stood off the land they set floating baits to catch the flying-fish. These were picked up on the return tack and used as bait. The bonito was caught by means of fly-hooks made of mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, and feathers. When a fish seized the hook the steersman raised it from the water, and by a particular twist given to the rod he brought the fish against his chest, and then detached it. In this way the canoe was sometimes heavily laden. Another method of fishing was by mixing a poisonous plant (*Tephrosia piscatoria*) with taro, and placing it where fish were plentiful. Having done this, the fish soon floated on the surface and were easily captured. The fruit of *Barringtonia speciosa* was used for the same purpose.

Spears made with wooden prongs, and also barbed iron spears were commonly used. Women often fished by sitting in a circle on the sand in the water, and then stirring up the sand with their hands, and so catching fishes that had concealed themselves there. Men often had their hands severely bitten by conger eels when putting them into the holes in the reef. There was no kite-fishing in Samoa. Turtles were caught when asleep on the water or when going on shore. They were also caught by being chased in the lagoon by two or three canoes. A man standing in each canoe kept the turtle in sight, and pointed with his paddle in the direction in which it was swimming, when the animal was headed off by another canoe. In this manner it was often chased until it was quite breathless, when a man dived, and by turning it effected an easy capture. Large fishes were often captured in the same way by chasing and then spearing them. Fishes were only preserved by warming daily, and there were no ponds for preserving them alive, though they exist, I believe, in the Sandwich Islands and in some of the Loyalty group.

In Samoa the soil is cultivated by all the people. The men burn off the bush and plant the taro tops, whilst the women generally weed the plantation. The only implements which were used formerly were fire and sheets of bark, with which to shovel the live ashes from the foot of the large trees which were burnt, and to carry them to the smaller trees. Knives and axes are now used when clearing the ground. A pointed stick of hard wood was used to make the hole in which the plant was placed. The principal plants cultivated were taro, yams, bananas, *'ava*, and tobacco, and the *aute* or Chinese rose for adornment. Taro was planted all the year round, as also bananas, but there was a regular season for yams. Mangoes, oranges, lemons, and other tropical fruits have been introduced of late years. The growing crops of taro were weeded at least twice, and the hole in which the tops were planted had to be kept from filling up. Yams also required attention, as sticks had to be provided on which the vines could run. Irrigation was used when they had the means, and trenches were often dug to carry away the water from swampy ground. Pits were made in which the bread-fruit, when plentiful, was fermented and kept for future use, and taro and bananas were sometimes similarly treated. The taro (*Arum esculentum*) and *Taamu* (*Alocasia costala*) are exceedingly acrid, and will blister the skin. The juice has also caused blindness. If well cooked this noxious quality is destroyed.

The boundaries of land were marked by pathways, by any natural boundaries, as a river, by stones half buried, or by trenches. High screens, covered with cocoa-nut leaves, which are sometimes used in other groups to protect the plantations from the cold winds, were not needed in Samoa. Every inch of ground has an owner. The title is generally vested in the family, represented, however, by the head, who often claims the right of sale or disposes of it, but it was sometimes vested in individual owners. The bush lands far away in the interior were owned by the families, as a body, in certain villages or districts. A second crop of taro was gathered from land on which it had been grown, but the quality was very inferior, and as a rule the land was allowed to remain fallow until the trees growing on it were as thick as a man's arm, when it was used again. There was no protection against depredations, except by watching for thieves. The wild yam and also the root of the dracena plants were eaten in times of scarcity. The taro and also the banana were apparently derived from indigenous wild species.

Many of the public games in Samoa, unlike those in Melanesia, were not confined to contests between the residents of the same village, but were often played by people belonging to different towns or districts. This would be impossible in most parts of Melanesia, as the people there live in a state of almost constant enmity with the adjoining districts. Club fights (*aigofie*) in Samoa were often very severe, as the combatants fought with clubs made from the large butt-ends of cocoa-nut leaves. These were very heavy, and any unfortunate combatant receiving the full weight of the blow was often incapacitated for any further action. Broken heads and arms were very plentiful after these combats. Wrestling (*fangatuanga*) was also practised. Another game was called *tangati'a*, and consisted in darting a light stick along a road made hard and smooth. This was also often played either by the divisions of a town or between two towns. Another game was spear-throwing (*tolonga*). A young cocoa-nut tree was used as a mark. This was planted in the ground with the butt uppermost, and formed the target. The successful thrower was one who caused his spear to fall on the target, and to remain sticking upright in it. The other party endeavoured either to dislodge the spears of their opponents or to plant more in the target than the others had been able to do. One of the most important games was called *lafonga tupe.* This was generally played by chiefs. Each player was provided with five round pieces of polished cocoa-nut shell. One of these was placed on a small mat in the centre of a larger mat, and the aim of each player was to strike off the shell of the opposing party. The side or the individual who had most shells left on the mat was adjudged to be the victor. Other public games were hide-and-seek, guessing competitions, spinning cocoa-nuts, and giving riddles. No high stakes were played for on any of these occasions, but the losers had generally to find pigs or other food for the victors. Games involving physical exercise were preferred to those of chance; a good wrestler or club fighter was always praised. Some of the old men were very skilful in warding off spears thrown at them. I knew one old man on Manono who was specially celebrated for his skill in this respect. When armed with only a short stick like a quarter-staff, called *a talita*, he would allow men to throw spears at him. These he warded off with the staff, and I never heard of any accident happening to him. The only condition which he made was that no spears were to be thrown from behind him. The Samoans were not very fond of foot-racing or leaping, but canoe- and boat-racing were very popular; in fact, no two canoes or boats could be long together without having a race. Swimming is an acquired art, but is learned very early in life. A mother will take her child into the water when quite young, and the child very soon begins to swim. Some of the bush people, it is said, do not know how to swim. This may have been true in early days, but I have never seen a Samoan who could not do so. They always swim with the side stroke, and when making a spurt they often throw both arms out of the water alternately. They are able to swim great distances. I have known of a woman who was running away from her husband who swam from Apolima to Savaii, some seven miles. They are good divers, and can remain some time under water. A favourite sport in rough weather was that of surf-riding (*faasee*). This was sometimes done in canoes just inside the reef. The occupant waited until a suitable roller came, on which the canoe was shot with great speed for a considerable distance. At one place where I often stayed I witnessed some exciting surf-riding by the natives of that town, who were celebrated for their proficiency in the art. The shore consisted of immense boulders, on which the waves dashed in stormy weather with great violence. The natives used to swim for a considerable distance out to sea, diving through the rollers until they reached the outer line of the breakers; they would then wait until some very large roller came, and, throwing themselves in the crest of it, would be shot with great speed to the beach, shouting out a peculiar cry with great glee. Just before the wave dashed on the boulders, they would turn somersault and dive into the surf, and swim out again to repeat the process. They were very proud of the fact that they never used a surf-board in those dangerous breakers. They kept themselves in the crest of the waves by a backward or forward movement of their hands. Children would practise this surf-riding on a board inside the lagoon. No games of ball were used, except throwing up and catching a number of oranges, so as to keep them always in the air. A cocoa-nut was often spun to decide which man or boy should go on some message, do some work, or find some food for the party. The one to whom the eyes of the nut pointed was obliged to carry out the duty. The same plan was sometimes adopted to find out a thief. The nut was spun, and the man to whom the eyes pointed when it was at rest was adjudged to be the culprit.

Another form of amusement was that of giving riddles, of which the following are specimens:—

There stands a man with a burden on his back.
Explanation.—A banana tree with its bunch of bananas.

There are twenty brethren, each with his hat on.
Exp.—The fingers and toes; the finger- and toe-nails are the hats.

There stands a long house (*afolau*) with one post, but with two doorways.
Exp.—The nose, the bridge of which is called a post.

A man whose chief is a rump.
Exp.—A pig, because he drives off the flies from his rump, but not from his face.

There is one who comes from the bush without any eyes, but when he dwells in the village he has eyes.
Exp.—The *siaga*, or large stick, on which they rub to get fire. The holes are the eyes.

A man is standing between two ferocious fishes.
Exp.—The tongue, which is between the two rows of teeth.

There are four brethren who always carry about their father.
Exp.—The bamboo pillow. The four feet are the brothers, and the bamboo is the father.

There are four brothers; two of them quarrel, and two are mediators.

Exp.—A house with its four sides. The two ends are opposed to one another, and the two sides interpose.

A person divided into two in his middle.

Exp.—A leaf of the wild orange (*Citrus vulgaris*).

A man comes from the distant forest inland, and goes out to the wide ocean.

Exp.—The bamboo rod used for *bonito* fishing.

A great number of brothers each has his own little room to himself.

Exp.—The large edible grub (*afato*). Numbers dwell in one tree, but each one has a place by itself.

There is one who cannot be seen by those who are down below on the ground, nor can he be seen from above.

Exp.—The upper ridge-pole of the house (*auaualuga*).

A man cries out continuously both by day and by night.

Exp.—The waves breaking on the reef.

A very great family of brothers who all lie prone, while their father lies on his back.

Exp.—A cocoa-nut leaf.

A man who always lives with a dead man.

Exp.—The yam and the part which decays (*soso*), before growing again.

There is one who comes from the country of long grass (males), and he comes to the land of short grass (females), then he comes to the land of black sand and rock, then to the land of white sand, and then he comes to the water.

Exp.—The full-grown, ripe cocoa-nut. There is the male husk and the female husk. The black sand and rock are the shell, the white sand is the kernel, and the water is the juice.

A man goes with a burden on his back into the long house.

Exp.—The cocoa-nut rib of the leaflet used as a fork to take up the cooked taro leaves on. The mouth is the house.

A man stands on the wide ocean.

Exp.—The cork of the water-bottle.

One who, when he comes from inland, is bad-looking; when he gets down to the beach he is good-looking.

Exp.—The taro and the yam. Covered with dirty skin from the plantation, but looking clean and nice when scraped and cooked.

A number of brothers, and it cannot be found out which was the last.

Exp.—The posts which surround the round hut.

Two brothers who try to snatch from one another their property.

Exp.—The floats and the weights of a net, each pulling the net in different directions.

There is one who is very small when he comes out of the bush, but when he gets down to the beach he has a large body.

Exp.—The bark of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which becomes very wide when beaten out.

A man who, when he comes from the bush, his body is visible, but when he enters the house he can no longer be seen.

Exp.—The rattan cane on which the thatch is sewn.

A man has one body and many eyes.

Exp.—A real man and his eyes are covetous eyes, thief's eyes, stingy eyes, lascivious eyes, etc. (A native way of speaking to attribute conduct to the eyes.)

A man shouts out, and there is a storm.

Exp.—A trumpet-shell; it is blown, and the wind from it roars.

A white-headed man stands on the top of the wall, and reaches to the sky.

Exp.—The smoke of the oven, which reaches to the sky.

Another game was for one side to give the name of a bird, and the other side had to give the name of a fish which rhymed with it:—

Tonini (guess) *tonana*: what is the bird inland?
The pigeon, *lupe*; that rhymes with the *ume*, a fish.

Tonini, tonana: what is the bird inland?
The fowl *moa*; that rhymes with the *apoa*, a fish.

Tonini, tonana: what is the bird inland?
The *manu tagi* (*Ptilonopus fasciatus*); that rhymes with the *masimasi*, dolphin.

It is only the *tuaimeo* that has no fish with which it can be rhymed.

I never saw any theatrical performances amongst the Samoans, the nearest approach to these being the night and day dances, in both of which many gestures and posturing were used. These are certainly not of any religious character at the present time, and there is only the very slightest trace of their ever being so used. The only trace, so far as I know, is that in olden times, when the annual feast in honour of the village deity was made; it was often associated with night dances, all of which were very obscene at certain stages. The only use of dances at the present time is to entertain visitors, and to give those who take part in them an opportunity for displaying their skill. The principal dance was the *po-ula* or night sport. This was commenced by singing, accompanied by beating time on floor-mats rolled round bamboos. A solo was sung by one of the performers, and the chorus by the rest of the company. These songs often contained topical allusions, which were much appreciated by the audience. Men and women took part, but all danced separately. The proceedings were generally unobjectionable in the early part of the evening, but towards daylight all kinds of obscenity were indulged in. They often danced quite naked, and obscene gestures, language, and facial contortions were used. The day-dance, *ao-siva*, was another dance, but comparatively unobjectionable. Many kinds of gesture- or action-songs have been lately introduced, and are very popular.

A very mild kind of slavery existed in Samoa in olden days, but only in the families of a few chiefs. Their mothers had probably been taken as captives in war time. They were not ill-treated, and could easily have run away. The custom has passed away long ago.

Time was divided by moons, and a distinctive name was given to each lunation. There were twelve names for the moon, but they only counted six months for the year (*tausanga*). A season was either the *vaipalolo*, that is, the *palolo*, or wet season, and the *toelau*, when the regular trade winds blew. The former would include from October to March, and the other season or year would include the rest of the months. In each of these years, however, there were a few weeks of variable winds during the change of seasons. They had no name for the solar or lunar year. The phases of the moon were carefully noted, such as new moon, a number of days up to full moon, also separate names for the days of the waning moon. Certain phases of the moon were used to ascertain the time when land-crabs could be caught on their way to the sea, when the *palolo* was due, or when yams could be planted and other occupations engaged in. The day was divided into first dawn (*atamatua*), the dawn (*tafaoata*), cock-crowing, daybreak, when a bird called *iao* was heard. The name was given from *i* (to cry), and *ao* (daybreak); other divisions were the morning (*taeao*); the time for feeding the tame pigeon, about 9 o'clock A.M. (*faga'ilupe*); the sun upright (*tutonu*) for noon, half-way down for three o'clock, and sunset. After sunset the night was divided by the crying of the cricket (*tangìalise*), about twenty minutes after sunset; fire-light (*mumuafi*), about half an hour later; the extinguishing of lights (*tinei afi*), about nine o'clock; midnight (*tulua o po ma ao*), the standing together of night and day. They were close observers of the stars, and used them not only to describe the time of night by the rising of some particular star, but also employed them when navigating out of sight of land. The belt of Orion was called *Amonga*, and the Pleiades were named *Lii*. Other stars, Castor and Pollux, were called *Luatangata*, the two men, their separate names being *Filo* and *Mea*. Other stars were called *Toloa maoni* (the true wild duck); a cluster of stars was called *Tolunga mauli* (three moons); another one was

Taulualofi, and *Tauluatuafanua*, the pair *Lofi* and *Tuafanua*, or it may mean that *Lofi* and *Tuafanua* were joined together as the Siamese Twins; *Tuingalama* (the torch of candle nuts), *Tulalupe* (the pigeon perch). The names for some of the points of the compass were derived principally from the prevailing winds, such as *Matu* (the north wind), *Toelau* (the north-east wind), *Tuaoloa* (the south-east wind), *Lai* (the westerly), *Tonga* (south or south-west wind), *Faatiu* (the north-west wind), and several other local names.

The Samoans, from the evidence of tradition, were much more daring navigators many years ago than they have been in recent times. The traditions give the account of voyages to Fiji, Tahiti, Tonga, Rarotonga, and many other groups. There appears to be no doubt whatever that Rarotonga was settled by Samoan immigrants, and it is very probable that this was the case with many other groups. The old Samoan double canoe has long been extinct, and the one which has been used of late years was modelled after the Fijian fashion, and in most cases was obtained from the Tongans, and of this there is only one specimen in Samoa at the present time. The ordinary canoes in use were the rough "dug-out" (*paopao*), used for fishing inside the reef, and a larger one of the same kind called *soatau*, which sometimes had the bow decked over. The beautiful carvel-built canoes to carry four were principally used for *bonito*-fishing. These were very beautiful canoes, and were modelled, I think, from the shape of the *bonito* itself. They were generally built of bread-fruit planks sewn on to a keel made of greenheart. After the same model, but much larger, were the dolphin canoes, which were built with four seats for eight people besides the steersman, or with five seats for twelve persons. These canoes carried a large sail, and, as previously mentioned, it was from seeing these canoes under full sail in very heavy trade winds that the name of Navigators was given to the group. All these canoes had outriggers, and in the case of the sailing canoes they had one on both sides. If the breeze was strong, one of the crew stood on the windward side, going out farther and farther, as the wind increased, and especially when the canoe was struck by a squall, and stepping inboard as it slacked. They were very skilful indeed in the management of these beautiful canoes. The paddles had a broad blade with round shoulders running away to a point, and with these, to use their own expression, they "dug" the water, making no use of the side of the canoe as a fulcrum, but striking it occasionally with the handle to mark time. The sails were made of mats, and something like a leg-of-mutton sail with the broad side uppermost. The ropes were made of the bark of *Hibiscus tiliaceus.* All the carvel-built canoes were fastened together by sinnet passing through holes gouged in a projecting part of the edge of each plank. The planks were fitted by rubbing turmeric along the edges. These were rubbed together, and any part not properly jointed was at once shown by the absence of the turmeric mark on it. They were afterwards caulked with gum made from the breadfruit trees, spread on both sides of strips of native cloth, and placed between the planks before they were sewn together. After the canoe was finished it was rubbed with *ana*, a species of coral used as pumice stone. The outrigger was made out of the log of some light tree, which was fastened to the canoe by means of cross-bars, one being fastened behind each seat to both sides of the canoe. From the end of these bars strong sharpened sticks were pierced in the upper side of the outrigger and lashed to the cross-bars, and the whole was kept in place by lashings of sinnet passing round the outrigger.

CHAPTER XIV

HISTORY, MYTHOLOGY

The New Britain people had no means of preserving the memory of past events, and consequently but very little information can be gained with regard to the history of the people. From the fact that the people lived in isolated districts there was no special or public opportunity given for reciting any songs, chants, or traditions relating to the past. Many of the words which they use in the present day in their songs have no meaning so far as the people now know. They probably had a meaning in the past, but are only used now because their fathers used them. They had no picture writing, nor any other method of assisting the memory with regard to the traditions of the past. I have never found that they could refer any farther back than to some event which had happened in their own lifetime, or in the lifetime of their fathers, such as the visit of some trading vessel or the name of some trading captain with whom they were acquainted. They have no traditions of any connection or alliance with other people, and they believe themselves indigenes in their land, that they "grew there," that is, in their present location. They have no distinctive title for any particular tribe except the names of the villages in which they live, such as a man of Molot, a man of Outam. They do not trace their descent from a first ancestor or several ancestors, nor could I find that they could give any reasons for their division into the two exogamous classes, and yet the family relationships are definitely fixed, as in the words *kabatara* and *au na tara*, which both mean tribe or family. A question which is often asked is *Aunatara ai ui?* that is, What family do you belong to? All other families related to them by language are considered as being all from one source. I could not find any tradition of former migrations. They believe that they were much fewer formerly and much more peaceable than they are now. They say that villages which now are always fighting dwelt together in peace in olden days; that shell-money (*diwara*) was very scarce formerly, but that now it is much more plentiful. My informant, when questioned as to the reason of this, said that in his opinion it was that formerly there were few people, but that now there are many; that the reason why they had little money in those days was because they had no good canoes, but that now with improved tools they have larger canoes, and can go farther and get more money. Then he said that having money made them wish for more, and so they fought the men who had it in order to get it from them. This was the opinion of a New Britain native on the question. I was not able to get from them many stories connected with their mythology with the exception of those which I have already given with regard to the nature myths. I found no stories of men being descended or developed from apes, or any record or stories of talking birds or beasts, but they have stories of tribes of men with tails and also of dwarfs. The following story with regard to the creation and subsequent deluge is almost the only one which I was able to get. There may, however, be more found as the people are better known.

Tabui Kor was a woman, Tilik and Tarai were two men, her sons, whether born or not is not clear. They lived at Kababiai, where the sacred spring is, and from this they made the land (not yet the world). The woman made it and the two men worked it. The men worked whilst the woman cooked the *tuba* or cabbage. The two men, however, found out that their food tasted very nasty, and so one day they agreed that one of them should work with both axes so as to make the woman believe that they were both working, whilst the other went and hid (*ki lalai*) so as to watch the cooking. He went and saw the woman make water (*mimi*) into their cabbage (*tuba*), and put pure sea water into her own *tuba*. He said to himself, *a ru peu mira ba ra ma ut i petpet len ba a mira utna* (alas indeed for us two if she continues doing that to our food). He went and told his brother, and they agreed upon a certain action which they would take. When they came to dinner they took the woman's *tuba* while she was not looking and substituted theirs instead, which she had mixed with her urine because she was too lazy to go for sea water. They snatched away her food and ate it. She protested, but they ate it still. Then she got angry and went and rolled away the stone which had hitherto kept the sea confined, and the water and sea poured out in a great flood, and this was the origin of the sea. They afterwards took pieces of the earth and sprinkled them on the sea and other islands came up. Then they sprinkled this also on the land and trees, and animals and men grew. Kababiai have the spring yet, but they never bathe in it or drink of it, and were very frightened when our boys drank of it. They say that an immense fish lives in it which will come when they call it, but it failed to do so when our boys got them to call, though they called long and loudly enough.

It will be seen from this that the belief in New Britain that the creator of all things was a woman was the same as that which is held in many other Melanesian groups. This Tabuikor seems to have had also the name of Ne Kidong. *Ne* is the usual prefix to a woman's name, but I do not know what *kidong* means. *Dongdong* means "deep" in Duke of York language, and *dong* in New Britain has the meaning to remain in seclusion, but I do not know of any connection with the name of *kidong*. Ne Kidong or Tabuikor was the woman who made all lands, and to whom the natives prayed when an eclipse of the sun or moon took place. There were two other characters in their mythology, the one called To Kabanana, who was supposed to have been the first man, and the maker of all things good and useful; and another called on Duke of York, To Pulgo, and on New Britain, To Purungo or To Purukelel, who spoilt all the works of To Kabanana and was the author of all evil. The names of these two men are continually used to-day, the former meaning a good workman and the latter a bad one. It is interesting to note that these two personages have their counterparts in other Melanesian groups. In the northern New Hebrides, Tagaro and Suqe occupy the same relative positions. Tagaro wanted everything to be good, and would have no pain or evil; Suqe would have all things bad. At

Whitsuntide Island whatever Tagaro did or made was right, Suqe was always wrong.[1]

To Kadol was a mythical person who found a little boy and girl who had run away from their mother in the plantation, because she was angry with them for having taken her mango. He took them home and his wife Limlimanawin wanted to eat the boy, and was very jealous of the girl who was watched by To Kadol. She pretended to be sick, stayed at home with the children, murdered the boy, ate part of the body, and hid the head. When detected she was burnt, together with the house in which she was. The boy's head was thrown into a water hole and was frequently visited by the spirit of the woman who eventually restored him to life, decked him out with ornaments, took him to To Kadol and tried to establish her innocence in the matter.

Another mythical person was called To Langabuturu, who followed a pigeon on the sea till it came to an island which proved to be inhabited by women only. He was in great fear and climbed into a tree. His shadow was, however, seen in the stream beneath by a woman who came for water. She was enamoured of this the first man she had ever seen, but told no one of it, and she kept the other women from the stream by getting water for them herself. She refused to go to market (*bung*) with the other women, but persuaded the man to go home with her whilst the women were away at the market. On their return they all wanted him as their husband, or at least to share him. The rest of the story is not proper for publication.

A mythical woman was named Ia (or Ya) Dapal who ran away from her jealous and angry husband to a rock in the sea. As the tide rose her husband entreated her to go on shore, but she refused to do so unless he would come and escort her even when she could only speak by springing up out of the water. Thus she died and her name is now used, by those who know the tradition, for an obstinate woman, especially if she be a runaway wife.

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[1] *The Melanesians*, Dr. Codrington, pp. 168, 169.

The term Kaia (or Kaiya) was applied to an evil omnipresent and powerful spirit who afflicted people with deformity and diseases, was the cause of earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and other calamities, and lived in craters and dark places. The term was also applied to any evil spirit, a large snake or iguana that was much dreaded. To Lagulagu was the name of the particular Kaia who resided in the craters called the Mother and Daughters opposite the island of Matupit. There was also a good omnipresent and powerful spirit called Nara. This word means a certain one, or it may have come from two words *na* (mother) and *ra* (one). They prayed to this Nara during an earthquake and also at an eclipse. When asked the reason for this they always replied, *Nara i tara dat*, *i.e.* Nara, who made us, or it may have meant he who made us. Speaking of the mountains on New Britain they said, *Nara ku i pami*, *i.e.* Nara alone he made them.

The history of the Samoans, according to their own records, begins with chaos when Standing rock (*papatu*) married Earth rock (*papa'ele*); when their son, Loose stone (*ma'a ta'anoa*) married Mud (*palapala*), and their son Grown from nothing (*le-tupu-*

fua) became the first man (*tagata*). He married the daughter of Tangaloa-langi, the chief god. Their son was Lu. He married Langituavalu, eighth heavens, and their son became king of Atua. The genealogies were then traced down to the last Malietoa. This genealogy was obtained by the late Rev. G. Pratt, one of the best Samoan scholars in the group, from the late Rev. T. Powell, a former missionary of Manu'a, and a most careful collector of the old legends of the people. Mr. Powell was at that time in the very best position possible for obtaining these at first hand. The Manu'a group to which so many South Sea Island legends point as the ancestral home of the Polynesians was in his district, he had the confidence of the men who jealously guarded these old genealogies and stories, and yet with all this influence he was only able to secure some of them on giving a solemn pledge that they would not be given to other Samoans at the time. Mr. Powell made some translations together with Mr. Pratt, and these were printed in several papers read before the Royal Society of New South Wales, the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, and the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science. The history, mythology, and folk-lore of the Samoans cannot possibly be considered even in the most summary way in the space which can be allotted to it in this work, and I can only at present refer those who are especially interested in those subjects to a paper in the *Journal* of the Polynesian Society (date not given in my copy), "Folk-lore, Songs, and Myths, from Samoa, by Dr. John Fraser, Sydney." This was again communicated by Revs. T. Powell and G. Pratt, and read before the Royal Society of N.S.W., November 5, 1890, with an introduction and notes by Dr. John Fraser. Unfortunately, as I think, Mr. Powell in his first translation attempted to express the ideas of the original in poetry instead of by a strictly literal translation. The genealogy of the sun, a Samoan legend, was read at the meeting of the A.A.A.S., Sydney, 1888, and is published with a literal translation in the records of that meeting. I obtained the same story from Mr. Pratt nearly fifty years ago. The genealogy of the kings and princes of Samoa was read at the Melbourne meeting of the A.A.A.S. in 1890, and is, I think, one of the most remarkable of all the South Sea Island records. Other papers on folk-songs and myths by the late Revs. G. Pratt and T. Powell, with introductions and notes by Dr. John Fraser, were read before the Royal Society of N.S.W., November 1890, July 1, 1891, September 2, 1891, October 7, 1891, December 2, 1891, and November 2, 1892. All these papers are valuable contributions to the folk-lore of Samoa, and where the literal translations are given either by Mr. Powell or Mr. Pratt they may be depended upon as being correct. It is only right, however, that I should state that, in my judgment, the introductions and many of the notes accompanying them must be received with great caution.[1] The memory of past events, amongst the Samoans, was preserved in poetry and narrative which were handed down by word of mouth from one generation to another. There was no specified time at which these songs and narratives had to be sung or related. They were very jealously guarded not only in Manu'a, but in every part of home nearly fifty years ago, far away from any white man, and with no instructions from me except that he was to write any stories, proverbs, riddles, or beliefs of his people as he remembered them from time to time.

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[1] See also *Samoa*, by Rev. Dr. G. Turner, and *Old Samoa*, by Rev. J. B. Stair.

THE TALE CONCERNING THE GROWTH OF THE LAND.—It is the land of Tuli,[1] the Tuli-o-Tagaloalagi. The Tuli came down to seek for a country. He flew about westward and eastward, but could not find a place to stand on, because all down here was sea only. So he flew up again to heaven. Tagaloalagi asked him "What are you come for?" Tuli answered, "I have come because there is no country down below; there is nothing but sea." Then said Tagaloa, "Go again and take this stone with you. Throw it into the deep, that a country may grow for you." Tuli descended again and threw the stone into the deep, and a country grew up; it rose up on high. Then sprang up plants, the vine and the grass. These were the first plants that sprang up. Out of the vine grew men. Things like worms wriggled about on the vine leaves, and out of them grew a pair of human beings. Then said Tuli, "Let me be named in every part of the body." And it was so. Hence we have the *tulilima* (elbow), the *tulivae* (knee), the *tuli manava* (side of the belly), the ears are *tutuli* (deaf); and so when people talk he, Tuli, is often named.

ANOTHER TALE OF THE GROWTH OF THE LAND.—A couple called Ilu and Mamao and their children, Standing-rock, and Sandstone, and Earthstone, and

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[1] A bird, *Charadrius fulvus.*

Sun, and Moon, and Sea, and Freshwater, and Greatwind, and Littlewind. All the sides of the heavens were scattered; only the Sea was shut up, and did not go to any part of the sky. Then the brothers cried and said, "Let the Sea go that they might see it, and that it might visit them." This was their foolish wish that the Sea should be let go that they might see it. Then was the Sea let go, and Sandstone and Earthstone were drowned. There they are drowned on the reef. But Standing-rock was not drowned. There it is inland. The two were drowned because the sea reached them, so they died. From this arose the saying, "The sea has reached you," when any one dies in a family. It is spoken by people of any family when they see them mourning for their dead. For they also have mourned because the sea had reached their people and they were dead first.

The Sun and the Moon and Greatwind and Littlewind (the two last were women) went up into heaven, and the Sun and the Moon stayed there. The day belongs to the Sun and the night to the Moon. The ladies went up to the space between the heavens. They met with Tagaloa-puu, but the ladies would not live with him, but they ascended to another heaven where they met Tagaloa-le-fuli, but they would not live with him. They went to another heaven and met with Tagaloa-le-oo. Littlewind married Tagaloa-le-oo and Greatwind watched over her; and there she is still. Littlewind had a daughter called Fuaileo. Fuaileo married Tagaloa-puu. They had one daughter, Sina-a-le-ata. Tuifiti married Sina-a-le-ata and she went with the star called Sauatu.

THE TALE OF THE PLACE TO WHICH PEOPLE GO

WHEN THEY ARE DEAD.—Chiefs go to Pulotu, that is the country of Saveasiuleo, the king of Samoan gods, who sends prosperity and adversity, who decrees wars and famines and evil days. He decrees the death of chiefs, then the chiefs die and go to Pulotu. He has his '*ava*-chewers, because he is the only king, the king of gods and the king of living men. Some tales say that the god sprang from men, and if so, he is a son of man. This god had the body of a man to the breast only, and the body of a large eel (*muraena*) below. His eel's body lies down in the ocean, and from the chest to his head lies down in the house. This is the god to whom all things are reported. The inferior gods are his attendants. Another place to which men go when they die is Sa-le-fee (the tribe of the cuttle-fish). That country is down under the earth. It is there that they eat the taro called the Vase. So it is jokingly called by men, the aitu's taro. That is the country to which people go. The gods take the spirits down below. They go by the way of the cocoanut tree. The top of that cocoanut is down below, and its root up here. When the god takes a man he takes him alive. When he reaches the cocoanut road he speaks, and the man hears the god say, "Reed, reed, open up. Rock, rock, open up." Then the god goes and takes with him the man alive. His eyes are covered, only his ears hear the words. The man is surprised to find that he has arrived at the country of the tribe of Sa-le-fee (cuttle-fish). For the gods take men alive and bring them up again. When the gods sleep at night their bodies spring about like sparks of fire, but when it is day their bodies are collected together again. Another name of this country is Motuononoa. The meaning is that no conversation is carried on there. They only look at a man when he goes there. They do not speak to him, but only smite on their breasts, that is their mode of welcome.

A Tale of the Cause of Men Dying.—The gods held a council in this world, and they consulted together as to what should be done with men. The end of one speech was, "Bring men and let them cast their skin, and when they die let them be turned to shellfish or become a torch light (which when shaken in the wind blazes out again). When he dies let him come to life again. What do you think of that?" So there was much discussion and dissension in the council of the gods, as to what should be done. Then Palsy stood up, and made a speech. "Friends, you gods of the east and of the west, of the sea and of the land, of the lower regions and the upper regions, listen while I speak. Bring men and let them become a fire of pua wood. The meaning of which is that when the pua wood fire goes out it cannot be made to burn up again. Let the shellfish change their skin, but let men die. What think you of that? . . . Then it came on to rain, and the council arose to go, and they shouted as they went "Let it be according to the council of Palsy; let it be according to the council of Palsy." So the men died, but the shellfish cast their skin.

The Tale about Tiitii.—This happened in the days when all the world ate raw food, because they had no fire. Tiitii went to get a light from the fire of Earthquake. Then said Earthquake to the lad, "Where are you going to?" Then answered the boy

Tiitii, "I am come to get a light." Earthquake said to him, "No one takes my fire for nothing. Let us first have a contest. Shall we fight first, or fight with fists or wrestle?" Tiitii answered, "What you say is good; I think we will wrestle first." Then they wrestled, and Earthquake's right arm was put out of joint. So he got a light from his fire. That is how the world came to eat cooked food, for Tiitii cut down *toa*, firebrands of the trees belonging to Earthquake.

A CURSING PRAYER.—O god, we are not able to bear with the strong and numerous families. We are not able to bear with the thefts and oppressions and pride. O god, I am weary of the stinginess and the scolding without ceasing. Blessed are those who have abundance of property and plenty of food and goods, and who eat good food. Blessed are those who are numerous and increasing: as for this family there are no people in it. Blessed are those who have lots of connections. O god, we are not able to bear with the strong families who for a long time have picked our nuts and breadfruit without leave. Our land is as if it belonged to women. We look at one another, and there are no people to oppose those who oppress us. All our people are dead. O god, we desire to live, for we are not able to bear this pride and oppression. We desire to live, O god.

TONGA AND SAMOA.—The following account was given to me by an old Tongan minister of the origin of that land and Samoa. Maui or Tiitii went to the king of Manu'a to beg fish-hooks. His Majesty was away from home at the time, but the Queen made Maui very welcome, and they soon got very intimate, in fact, improperly so. She then asked Maui his message, and he told her that he came to beg fish-hooks. She then advised him that when her husband came and offered him a nice shining hook he was not to take it, but to ask for a dirty old hook that was lying by the side of the house. He followed her advice, refusing the bright hook and asking for the old one. This he got and with it fished up Samoa, but had not time to make it nice, as he had to run from the anger of Tui Manu'a, who had found out his wife's unfaithfulness. Maui, however, had seen the lady before he started, and told her that when his child was born she was to call it Tonga. He then left, and with his hook fished up another land which he called Tonga after his child. He took great pains with this, levelled it, and made it all smooth out of love for his son. This is the way tradition accounts for Tonga being so level and Samoa so rough and unfinished.

CHAPTER XV

LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

THE subject of the language of these people has been already very briefly described when considering the question of the original home of the races who inhabited the many groups of islands in the Pacific (pp. 14-22). The subject, however, is one which cannot be fully considered in this work, and I can only give here some of the conclusions at which I have arrived without giving in detail the reasons which have influenced me. For fuller information I would refer those who are interested in the subject to Dr. Codrington's most valuable book on the Melanesian languages, to Hazlewood's *Grammar and Dictionary of Fiji*, a *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language* by Rev. George Pratt, and *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait*, vol. iii., "Linguistics," by Sidney H. Ray, Esq., M.A. There is also a *Grammar and Dictionary of the New Britain Language*, by Rev. R. H. Rickard, published only in hectograph, 1889, and a *Grammar and Dictionary of Duke of York Language*, published by myself, with the assistance of the Rev. B. Danks in the vocabulary, also only in hectograph, in 1881. This was the first grammar and vocabulary of any of the New Britain languages. A copy of it may be seen in the British

Museum Library, and I think also in the library of the Royal Geographical Society in London, and in that of the Columbia University, New York.

As I have already stated, it was whilst I was engaged in the work of reducing the Duke of York (New Britain) language to a written form, compiling a grammar and dictionary, and making the first translation of any of the Gospels, that I was led to believe that the similarity which exists in the languages and customs of the Melanesians and Polynesians proved that the people were of common origin, and were not, as was generally believed, separate and distinct races.

On my return from New Britain to Sydney I had the privilege of corresponding with Dr. Codrington, both directly and also through a mutual friend, the late Rev. Dr. Fison, and it was a great satisfaction to me to know that the opinions which I had formed from a long acquaintance with a purely Polynesian language, and, in later years, from the study of a very interesting Melanesian dialect before the advent of other white men, were confirmed by such a competent authority. In the course of that correspondence, which was prior to the publication of his valuable book, Dr. Codrington removed some of the difficulties which I then had, more especially with regard to the so-called suffixed pronouns, and the experience of later years has confirmed the accuracy of his judgment. Some of the opinions which I have formed are:—

1. That the original home of the Melanesian and Polynesian people was in India, probably in the valley of the Ganges, which was then, as were other parts of India, occupied by a people quite distinct

from the Aryan or Indo-Germanic race, which subsequently entered India and subjugated or dislodged to a considerable extent the people whom they found there. This opinion was held by Mr. J. R. Logan,[1] and I think it is correct; but that wherever the original people who first settled the Melanesian and Polynesian groups came from, the language which they spoke and which their descendants still speak belongs to the Turanian family and not to the Indo-European.

2. That the Melanesian and Polynesian languages are from one common stock, of which the former is the oldest representative.

3. That the Melanesian people have not borrowed from the Polynesians or vice versa, but that whilst the grammatical construction of their language has remained practically the same, their vocabularies show that the language originally spoken by the peoples from whom they are descended has been subsequently affected by successive immigrations, some of them dating from a very remote period, of Aryan-speaking peoples into Indonesia.

4. That the evidences of this contact with peoples speaking a language belonging to the Indo-European family can be seen in both the Melanesian and Polynesian branches, but is more evident in the Polynesian branch of the family than in Melanesia.

5. That this is due to the fact that the people now known as Polynesians migrated from their original home at a much later date than the Melanesians, and so were more influenced by the immigrants from the mainland of India.

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[1] *Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands*, p. 1; *Journ. Indian Archipelago*, 1852-53, pp. 34, 37, 54.

6. That the fact that both the Melanesian and Polynesian languages contain words which are also in the Malay language, does not prove that these words were either borrowed from the Malays or taken to the respective groups by those people. Mr. Alfred Wallace says: "That the occurrence of a decided Malay element in the Polynesian language is altogether a recent phenomenon originating in the roaming habits of the chief Malay tribes." This is an argument which is, I think, quite inadmissible, for if there is anything which we can assert with absolute certainty it is the fact that the presence of so-called Malay words in the languages of any of the Melanesian peoples in New Britain, the Solomons, New Hebrides, Fiji, etc., is not in any way due to any intercourse with the Malays. The Malays, I believe, have visited the north-western portion of New Guinea for many years, and the records of those visits, I presume, are well known, but I venture to affirm that no such records will be found with regard to any intercourse with New Britain or with the Melanesian groups to the eastward of that group. The presence of many so-called Malay words in Melanesian and Polynesian languages is, in my opinion, explained, as already stated,[1] by the fact that those words were in common use amongst the original peoples who inhabited the Malay Peninsula prior to the Malay immigration, and that they became the common property of both races.

7. That the traditions of the Polynesians show that the Manua group in Samoa was that which was first permanently settled by the Polynesian immigrants from Indonesia, and that from those islands

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[1] Page 20.

they were gradually dispersed into the other groups now known as Polynesian.

8. That the generally acknowledged principle that whilst the vocabularies of different peoples are of great historical value in tracing the influence which intercourse with alien races has had upon their respective language, the only certain evidence of identity of origin must be found in the grammatical construction of the respective languages, applies with special significance and force in the case of the languages of these oceanic groups.

It may be thought by some persons who have little or no knowledge of these islanders, that a savage or barbarous people, with no written language, living in a state of almost constant warfare, holding little or no intercourse with adjoining tribes, and speaking so many different dialects, that in many instances people living in different districts of some small islands in Melanesia cannot understand each other's language, would not be likely to preserve a uniform grammatical construction of their respective languages, even supposing that they were originally derived from one common stock. With reference to this I will here state my own experience. During a close acquaintance with the Melanesian and Polynesian races for nearly fifty years, including a residence of many years in the respective groups, I have had many opportunities of knowing their habits and hearing their speech. The grammar of all these peoples, though unwritten, is a very complex one, with very fine distinctions, all of which are very important, and some of which I believe are only found in these oceanic languages, and yet during all the years I have lived amongst these peoples, hearing the Samoans and Tongans in their public speeches on political or social subjects as well as in their own homes, and the Melanesians in their most primitive condition, I have never known a native make a mistake in grammar. He has no grammar in the generally accepted meaning of the word, and certainly not a written one, but he has rules of speech and meaning which bind him as firmly as our own rules bind us, and he makes no mistakes, such as may be frequently noticed in our own meetings or in our own homes.

Then there is this other wonderful fact, that although the vocabularies are often so apparently diverse, and the respective peoples live in widely differing stages of culture and intellectual development, the grammatical structure of all these languages, with a few unimportant differences which, in my opinion, can be readily explained by varying local conditions, is practically the same. This is, I think, a good illustration of the permanent character of the grammatical rules in the different branches of any one of the great linguistic families, and may fairly be taken as evidence of the common origin of these people.

9. That the Melanesians are the oldest representatives of the original stock, and that they were settled in their respective groups for many generations prior to the migration or expulsion of the Polynesians from Indonesia, is shown by the fact that they all claim, so far at all events as we know at present, to be indigenes. All the Polynesian traditions are full of stories of the travels and migrations of their ancestors, but I know of none of them amongst any Melanesian people.

The late Rev. G. Pratt, in some introductory remarks on the genealogy of the sun—a Samoan legend—says that the language of the Samoans was kept pure before their intercourse with other nations, and he adduces the fact that no polite language is used in that legend as proof of its antiquity. He states that "such language as is used to the chiefs in the legend would not be tolerated in present times; to use any other than the language of respect would now be considered as an insult." If the language of respect was comparatively little used in former ages, we must assume that the Polynesian languages have been affected in that respect by outside influence since their separation from the parent stock. The use, however, of polite language is found in Melanesian groups. On Duke of York Island the ordinary words for farewell are *wan ma* (you go), but the polite term is *un turu* (stand up). Another form of farewell, used in the evening, is to say *un ruk* (you enter (the house)), that is, they use the very opposite term and say, you enter, instead of go, or farewell, which latter term it is not polite to use at night. *Mat* is the ordinary term for death; the polite words, *tapula* (to be blind), *tadoko* (to be bound up); *waturu*, literally meaning to cause to stand up, is the polite term for stating that the man (especially a wounded man) is near death. *Walanguru* is the name of a tree the leaves of which are eaten with some food, or with human flesh, and in speaking of a man who has had a narrow escape from death, they say that he has escaped from the *walanguru*. *A kum na tum liklik*, literally a number of or small children, is the polite term used for wife, and the use of the plural instead of the singular number in this instance is another mark of respect.

They say, for instance, *A kum na tum liklik awai diat*, "your wives, where are they?" instead of "where is your wife?" The language of Duke of York contains a number of onomatopœal words such as *kuuru* (a pigeon), *rokrok* (a frog), *kiakia* (kingfisher), *buna* (a dove), which are all named from their respective cries. *Pakapaka* (a cuckoo) is named from the noise he makes.

Some illustrations of modes of communicating facts or wishes other than by spoken language will be found on pp. 298-300. If a chief, however, wished to stop any one from coming to borrow money (*diwara*), as described (p. 299), he would erect a pole (*gorogoro*) in front of his house, to give notice to all intending applicants that he had no more *diwara* to lend. If a man decided to apply to some chief for payment from some one who had committed adultery with his wife, he would bind up a number of lengths of a particular vine as symbolic of the offence and of the payment which he demanded. This latter was indicated by the number of lengths of vines which were bound together. A man would be reminded of a debt still owing by his creditor fixing some representation of the article which had not been paid for in front of his debtor's house at night (*mulmulai*). A piece of wood roughly carved to represent a pig would remind him of a pig which had not been paid for, or a few shells of money would be put in a forked stick to remind him of money still owing. Knots made on a string were only used, so far as I know, to mark the number of days which had to elapse before some work was done or some return visit paid. I know of no message-sticks or messages sent by shells or carvings to adjoining districts.

War was declared either by sending a symbolic message, such as a spear, or by erecting a sign on the boundary between the respective villages. The first overtures for peace in New Britain were by the exchange of leaves and plants (p. 255), and in Kiriwina by killing a pig as described (p. 259). I do not know the signs which were used in New Britain to show that the man had killed an enemy, but in Fiji the custom was for him to paint his face and chest black, and in some parts of New Guinea two cockatoo feathers in a small bone comb, which was worn in the hair, expressed the same fact. The New Britain people, however, had certain modes of conveying messages which were quite intelligible by the persons to whom they were sent. On one occasion I intended to call at a certain village to purchase some food, but one of my crew had received a stone wrapped up in a certain leaf, which they all said was a warning from some friend of his in the village not to go ashore there, as there was great danger in doing so. I was not willing to attach much importance to the communication, as I had been so often warned when, so far as I could learn, there was no real danger, but on this occasion the old chief I had on board was so earnest in warning me, and, judging by the tones of his voice, so sincere in his belief as to the reality of the danger that I decided not to call. The old man said to me, "You white men make marks (write) on paper and send them to each other. You look at the marks on the paper and they talk to you. Well, we look at that stone and leaf and they talk to us. They say that you must not go ashore, you must stop in your boat." They were accustomed to place a leaf on the shoulder of a man whom they wished to compliment (*poro*), which, of course, had to be suitably acknowledged by a payment made, but the same custom was used to imprecate a curse on some offender by placing a leaf or a stone on the place where the offence was committed. We generally accepted the kindling of a fire on the beach or up in the forest only as an invitation to call, but I think that the natives were able to interpret the meaning of the smoke signals far more definitely than we were. A general sign of welcome was the display of green leaves by the natives on the beach, though in many places this could not be safely trusted owing to the treacherous character of the natives. Another form of welcome is shown in the following incident:—When crossing New Ireland for the first time we came to a village called Rataman. As we approached the village a man met us and requested us to stand and get all our party together before entering it. This we did, and he then went before to announce our approach. When we entered the village we could only see one old man, who stood facing us with his spear and shouting out as loudly as he could, *Ah*, *Ah*, *Ah*, which seemed to be an expression of welcome. Then suddenly some twenty or thirty men, painted with ochre and lime as for war, and armed with spears and tomahawks, rushed out from the backs of the houses, and with spears poised and brandishing their tomahawks they made towards us, shouting as though about to fight or kill every one of us. We all stood still, and they rushed close up to us, making their spears quiver and shake as they held them only a few feet from our faces as though they were about to hurl them at us, then with a loud yell they turned and ran back almost to the place from which they started, but only to return again as before.

This time, however, they rushed past us and kicked, struck, and jumped against the fence behind us in the most excited manner. Some of our party stood with spears advanced as if for defence, and when the challengers had retired one or two of them became the attacking party, and made the same hostile demonstrations against the towns-people. I much admired the attitude of one fine well-built young fellow when he stopped short and stood facing the people as though about to dart his spear at them; his whole body seemed to quiver with excitement, and though his arm was apparently still, he made the spear buckle and bend in a most surprising manner. After this display of welcome was over the people all crowded round us, anxious to be introduced to the first white men they had ever had the opportunity of seeing.

A sign of welcome on the north-western end of New Ireland, but not forward of Cape Givry, so far as I know, was given by patting the top of the head with the hand, whilst in another place the invitation was expressed by pinching the navel. Covering the mouth with the hand was generally used to express astonishment. On New Ireland, however, I noticed the custom of expressing admiration and astonishment by placing the fourth finger between the teeth across the mouth and making a hissing noise. Another mode was to slap the thigh violently, slightly lifting the leg at the same time. In some places, as in Guadalcanar, the fact that a woman is married is shown by her wearing a grass skirt. All the men and unmarried girls were quite nude. On the west coast of New Ireland near Attack Island I noticed that all the men practised circumcision. This, though common enough in Polynesia, was the first instance which I had noticed in the New British group, and on New Ireland I saw it only in that one district, though it may have been practised in other places. It was certainly practised on Aneityum in former times when boys were from seven to ten years of age, and the reason stated was that it increased the stature and improved the physique of the individual. After the operation the lad was allowed to wear the T-bandage instead of going about completely nude.

In New Britain there was no difference in the language used by the women and that used by the men, and when men married women speaking a different dialect or language, the wife always learned the husband's language, and the children spoke the same. There were no special sets of words used in speaking to or of chiefs, with the exception of the few terms of respect already given. I do not know of any special sets of words used by men or women whilst engaged in fishing or agriculture, nor did I hear of any secret language used by initiated members of secret societies, though I think that they had some means of making themselves known. The dialects spoken differ very much in their vocabulary. On the Duke of York Island, for instance, the natives cannot pronounce the letter "s," but on New Ireland, only about fifteen miles distant, that letter is very extensively used. *Inep* (to sleep) becomes *sua* on New Ireland. *Ki* (to sit) becomes *kis*; *muana* (a man) is *tunatuna*; *mage* (the sun) becomes *kesakesa*. In places where the languages were mutually unintelligible the people generally communicated with each other by interpreters who had been friendly with both parties, and gesture language was also used. The ordinary form of beckoning to come, common throughout all the island groups, was used by them. The arm was extended with the palm of the hand down, and a motion made towards the body of the person beckoning. In bartering, the hands and fingers were used to indicate the quantity of *diwara* or the number of sticks of tobacco which the vendor wanted for any given article, or by pointing alternately to the article he wished to sell and the one he desired in exchange.

There are practically no abstract terms in any of the groups with which I am acquainted. I feel quite certain that no native in Melanesia or Polynesia could translate literally the sentence, "Prevention is better than cure." No writing was known, but a peculiar use of language as a medicine is noted (p. 177) when the New Britain people said a prayer (*papet*) over a banana and gave it to the patient to eat, or over a cocoa-nut and gave him the water to drink. A similar custom of writing a prayer on a board, washing it off, and making the patient drink the water prevails largely in Africa.[1]

In Samoa polite language is used extensively. Words which were considered objectionable were never spoken in the presence of chiefs or visitors without using the apologetic phrase *vaeane*, which means literally "saving your presence," every time the word was used. Words of an entirely opposite meaning were used in place of those which were objectionable. Firewood, for instance, was called *polata*, which is the stem of the banana plant which it would be impossible to burn. The underlying principle in the use of polite language is that it must be used to chiefs and visitors, but they must never use the polite terms in speaking of themselves or of anything belonging to them. The ordinary words for "come" are *anganga mai* or *sau*; the polite terms to chiefs in the order of their rank would be *maliu mai*, *susu mai*, *afio mai*. To sit is *nofo*; the polite words, *alala*, *falafalanái*. To eat is *ái*; the polite terms, *tausami*, *taumafa*, *taute*. To die is *mate* or *pe* (of animals); *oti* (of men); the polite terms are *maliu* (gone), *folau* (gone on a voyage), *fale-lauasi*, *ngasolo ao*, *masaesaelelangi*, *taapeape papa*, and a number of others. To be sick is *mái*; the polite terms are *ngasengase*, *faatafa*, *pulu pulusi*. Anger is *ita*; the polite term is *toasa*. House is *fale*; the term for a chief's house is *maota*. To sleep is *moe*; the polite term is *tofā* or *toá*. *Ua mapu mai*, literally you are rested, is a polite salutation to a man returning from fishing. *Ua matu* (you are dry), or *faamalū* (you are cool), would be the polite salutation to a person returning from bathing, in reply to which he would simply say *taele*, the ordinary term for bathing. They were very particular in the salutations used for the different times of the day. A person coming in the early morning would be greeted with *Ua sautia mai* (you have come with the dew on you). At noon he would be greeted with *Ua lāina mai* (you have come in the heat of the sun). In the evening the salutation would be *Ua alala mai* (you have come in the evening). At night it would be *Ua poulingia mai* (you have come in the darkness). If a chief took a name of any common object as his own the original name was at once changed. There was no difference in the language used by women and that used by men. There were words which could not be used by the bushmen when hunting or by the fishermen when going out to fish for bonito or shark, other words being used for the ordinary names of the articles taken by them on board.

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[1] Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 24.

Symbolic messages were not much used in Samoa. War was declared generally by one party making preparations which the other side at once accepted, and peace-making was always concluded by the intervention of some neutral party. Acknowledgment of offence and suing for pardon (*ifonga*) were expressed by the offending parties bowing down before the house of the offended chief or in the public square of the aggrieved village. The most significant expression of guilt was by the offending parties bringing in their hands stones, pieces of firewood, leaves, or old mats. This literally meant that they presented themselves as pigs to be eaten by the offended chiefs, and that they had brought the materials for cooking with them. Such a humiliation always ensured pardon, and in many instances valuable mats were given by the offended chief or village to cover up the shame to which the culprits had exposed themselves.

A species of circumcision or of the same nature existed and is all prevalent. It was performed on young lads of about twelve years of age. The operator inserted a piece of charcoal into the prepuce and cut down upon it, making an incision the whole length of the prepuce. The reason for performing this operation is now quite unknown. It is merely said to be the custom which all are bound to observe. As far as is known it has no connection with religion. It is performed without any accompanying ceremonies, and any person who feels disposed undertakes to operate. The recognised name for it was *tefe*—but in common conversation *tafao* was used as an euphemism.

Thanks were expressed by the word *faafetai*, accompanied in some instances by the recipient placing the gift he had received on the top of his head. Welcome was always expressed by complimentary terms.

CHAPTER XVI

SICKNESS, DEATH, AND BURIAL

In New Britain when a man got old and was often sick his friends would try all the spells and charms which they were accustomed to use in order to find out who had bewitched him. During all the time of his illness they were very attentive to him, for they never deserted the sick. At length, when all spells and remedies had failed, and the man felt that he was about to die, he would tell his friends what he himself thought, and what he wished them to do. He would then dispose of part of his property, but the bulk of this would be left to be divided according to native custom. In the case of an old man of rank or position his friends would often, at his request, carry out a very interesting custom. They would make a litter for him, and on this the old man was taken to all the old familiar places where his life had been lived, that he might see them again for the last time. They would take him to the *tareu* in which was the lodge-room, where he had been wont, year by year, to take part in the Dukduk ceremonies; to the house where his canoes were and where his nets were hung, which he would never use again; to the garden which he had fenced; to the trees which he had planted; to the boundary where he had often fought; and to the houses where his friends and relatives lived; and then, weary and tired, they would take him home to die. When he passed away they would mourn for him with loud and bitter wailing, varied with curses against those who had caused his death. In the disposition of his property he would only give his children a small amount of money (*diwara*), and also a small amount to his wife or wives; his brothers, and sometimes his sisters, would get the principal part. If a man died in war the brothers would divide his property, though his wife or wives would try and hide away some of it. The brother or brothers were considered as being far before the children or wife, owing to their being of the same class with the deceased. When death took place the relatives destroyed much of their property (*kamara*) in order to express their grief. Yams were pulled up, bananas cut down, pieces of tobacco, cloth, beads, and *diwara* were destroyed. This was to express the feeling that they had no further use for them now that their relative was dead. A small platform was placed on a *living* tree (*a air*), on which food was placed every day (*buturu a minat*). I have already noted the fact that in the case of a man killed in fight the platform was placed on a *dead* tree. On the night following his death the friends of the deceased would all assemble outside the house, and some sorcerer (*tena agagara*) would call out and ask of the spirit of the deceased the name of the person who had bewitched him. When no answer was received the *tena agagara* would call out the name of some suspected person, and all around would listen intently for an answer. If none came another name was called, and this was repeated until a sound, like that made by tapping the fingers on a board or mat, was heard either in the house or on a pearl shell held in the hand of the *tena agagara*, after a certain name was called out; this was at once taken as conclusive evidence of guilt. It was thus a very easy matter for a sorcerer to satisfy any grudge he might have against any individual, or to extort money from him. Instances have been known in quite recent years of men being killed and eaten in New Britain on no other evidence of guilt than those rappings. When the deceased was a chief of some influence, or one whose reputation as a sorcerer had extended outside his own village, his death was always regarded by the people of adjoining districts as a suitable opportunity to avenge real or imaginary injuries on the people who were supposed to be left defenceless (see pp. 244-245).

The usual mode of burial on Duke of York Island was at sea, generally in some deep part of the lagoon. Large stones were fastened to the toes, so that the body remained in a standing position in the water. I knew of one case where the body of a man called Teem was fished up again and eaten by some whose enmity he had incurred whilst living. In other cases the body was buried in the house of the deceased. A fire was kept burning on the spot, and the relatives slept in the house. In some other cases, but very rarely, I believe, a chief was buried in an upright position. This grave was called *tung na tauba*; but I cannot tell what this means, the real interpretation of the words being the hole or pit of a large snake (*tauba*).

When a chief or person of some importance died the body was placed in a sitting position in front of his house. He was seated on a special chair called a *koromia*. He was then bathed, and afterwards adorned with necklaces, wreaths of flowers and feathers, and decked out in full war-paint. A spear was placed in his right hand; his club was put over his shoulder; some ginger plants, and the mouthpiece of a warrior, were placed in his mouth, and a large cooked yam was placed in his hand. The weapons were given him that he might fight his way against those who tried to hinder him from going to the spirit-land (*matana-nion*), whilst the food was for him to eat on his long journey to the usual jumping-off place for all spirits. The friends and relatives then brought large quantities of *diwara*, necklaces, ornaments, and other valuable property, and placed them in front of the dead chief. Some of this property would be buried with him, but the large rolls of *diwara* and other valuable property were simply brought there as a mark of respect to the old man and his family. Before this property was taken away, an old chief would break portions from each of them, and allow them to drop over the body, whilst some of them were burnt in the fire. The idea seemed to be that the spirit of this property would go with the old man's spirit to the other world, and so he would be a wealthy man on arriving there. His legs and arms were also tied round with *diwara*. Some of this was given as an expression of love from relatives, but it was also given sometimes in order to acquire land, as described on p. 271. When the body was buried there was a curious custom observed in some cases, but this, I think, was only in the case of a man who was in some way or other connected with the Iniat society. It was called a *weiong*, meaning a throwing away. When the man was dead his friends first dug the grave, and surrounded it with a fence. This was called the *langalanga*, meaning upright or straight. Then the relatives and friends gathered together, and the masters of sorcery (*tena agagara*) held leaves in their hands, spat upon them, and threw them, with a number of poisonous things, into the grave, uttering at the same time loud imprecations that he who had caused the death should have dysentery, waste away, die from spear wounds, stones, or tomahawks. The name of the spell which was thus used was *winivien*. Then all went and bathed, and in company came again to the grave, holding wood in one hand and leaves in the other. They stamped together with their feet, fell down to the ground, shut their eyes, stood up again, and then sang another cursing song or imprecation. This was called *tumarakabang*, and was supposed to ensure certain destruction to the man who had caused the death. Then that company also went away and bathed, after which the members of the Iniat society (*Tena-Iniat*) came, each one holding large leaves in his hands. They first sang, then sat down, after which a speech was made by one of their number, and then the litter on which the dead man was lying was canted, and the body allowed to fall into the grave. In this ceremony, which is called *aumuma*, the body was not to be touched with their hands. In the case of a chief or person of some importance, after certain ceremonies had been performed to find out the name of the evil spirit, and also that of the man who had bewitched him and so got the evil spirit to compass his death, the body was placed on a high platform, generally in front of the house of the deceased. This was often done with great excitement. The men were armed with spears and tomahawks, and their bodies painted as if for war. They were divided into two companies, and when the body was about to be placed on the platform they first engaged in a sham fight. One party was assembled in front of the platform, and appeared to be determined to prevent the body from being placed on it, whilst the party bearing the body appeared determined to effect their object. The combatants rushed at each other, yelling and shouting, with spears poised, and with every indication of anger. Then, just before the combatants met the same curious ceremony took place which I have previously noticed in connection with peacemaking feasts, etc. Each spear was turned aside, and as the combatants rushed together each man turned his shoulder to the other, and so they collided with great force. After this combat, which took place some little distance away from the platform, the body would be brought by the combined party and laid on the ground near to the platform. Then another sham fight would take place, one party attacking and the other defending the body. Property was *kamara'd*, as previously described, and every demonstration of fear and respect was made. The body was then placed on the platform, and whilst the process of decay went on the relatives sat round, regardless of the stench, as they thought that in so doing they would get some of the dead chief's courage and knowledge. Some of them would even anoint their bodies with the drippings from the putrefying body for the same purpose. The women also made fires at which the spirit could warm itself. When the head became detached it was carefully preserved by the nearest relatives, whilst the remains were buried in the house at a very shallow depth. A fire was made on the top of the grave, and the relatives slept in the house. All the female relatives blackened their faces for a long time, after which the skull was put on a platform, a great feast was made, and dances were held for many nights in its honour, as up to this period the spirit of the dead man was supposed to be somewhere about his former residence. After these ceremonies, feasts, and dances were carried out he was supposed to retire and not trouble his friends any more.

On New Ireland the dead were rolled up in coverings made from leaves of *pandanus* sewn together, then weighted with stones and buried at sea. In some places they were placed in deep underground watercourses or caves. In the northern end of the island the bodies were cremated on large piles of firewood placed in a small open space in the village. A number of curiously carved wooden or chalk images were placed around the spot where the body was being burned, but I do not know the significance of this act. The women and men uttered the most piteous wailings, threw themselves on the top of the corpse, and pulled at the legs and arms. This was done not merely as an expression of grief, but also because they thought that if they saw and handled the dead body whilst it was being cremated, the spirit could not or would not haunt them afterwards.

At Kiriwina when a great chief (Guiau) died, his body was cut up and distributed amongst his relatives. The last honour that they could pay to a chief was to bury him in several graves in different villages; clean his skull, which was decorated and preserved as an heirloom; and make the small bones of his body into lime spatulas, to which his name was given, and which were sacred to his memory.

At the island of Simbo, in the Solomons group, the skulls of deceased relatives and friends were deposited in a sacred place near each village. The natives are not very willing to allow strangers to visit the spot, but no objection was made by them when I visited the island. The burial-place was on a promontory near the harbour, which was covered with trees and vegetation. On this there was a number of small mortuary houses. One of these contained about thirty skulls; another one was evidently the property of a family of some importance. It only contained two skulls, but these were highly ornamented with rings and other property. A large number of shell ornaments, etc., were hung outside the houses. The bones were thrown away on the reef, and the skulls only were preserved in these receptacles. There was a curiously carved image in the centre of the ground, evidently placed there to keep guard; but I do not know what it was supposed to represent, or how its powers were exercised, and the natives themselves had no definite ideas about its functions or powers.

I never heard of any one being buried alive in New Britain, but it was a common custom in New Guinea. The Rev. Dr. Bromilow has given several instances of this custom. One was of a woman of about sixty years of age, who was taken ill at her garden hut on Normanby Island. She became unconscious, and was taken to a village to be buried. The mission teacher thought that she was not quite dead, and told the people to delay the burial. They, however, wished her to be buried at once, saying that her head and throat, at any rate, were dead, and that was sufficient. The body was made ready for burial by being placed in a sitting posture in a chair roughly made of saplings. When Mrs. Bromilow saw that the woman was not quite dead she called out to the mourners, who were making great lamentations, to stop and lift the body out. They, however, said that it was *tabu* to do so; that the woman was dead; that a sorcerer had struck her by his familiar spirit, and though she was yet breathing, her head and neck were dead, and therefore she was dead. They had tied four sticks round her head—one on top, another under her chin, and one on each side of the face. These were cut loose after much discussion, the woman was lifted out, and survived until the following morning.

Another instance was that of a baby who was being buried alive with his mother, according to their custom in such cases. Mrs. Bromilow took the child literally out of the grave and from the breast of the dead mother. This boy was nursed at the mission-house, and at this time is a fine strong young man. In the case of a mother dying leaving a female child, she would probably be adopted by some one in the hope of receiving payment when she married, in addition to the value of services rendered in the household.

In Fiji the practice of burying alive those who were supposed to be incurably sick, or were decrepit, was often resorted to, though in some instances they were first strangled. In one case a woman was taken ill, and as the people were tired of attending upon her, they proposed to bury her alive, and made all preparations for doing so. One of their number, however, suggested that if they prepared some poison and gave it to her to drink, it would be more merciful. They acted upon the suggestion, prepared the poison, and made her drink it, and then buried her. The strangling of the aged, and in some instances that of young men, was often carried out at their own request. In one instance a chief was taken ill and expected to die. Unwilling, however, to die a natural death, he made an effort and managed to walk to a town near to his own, and, having assembled the people, reminded them that they had always been kind to his predecessors, and when required had strangled them. He went on to say that he did not think he should live long, and wished them to love him and strangle him. They replied that they were wishful to oblige him, but, as they had just *lotued* (*i.e.* become Christians), it was impossible for them to do so. They suggested that the people of a town near (which was still heathen) would have no scruples, and advised him to go to them. The old chief was unwilling for any but his special friends to do the last offices for him, so returned to his own town, where he was soon strangled.

In New Britain the women blackened their faces, and the men wore particular armlets (*tobo*), as a sign of mourning, and also abstained from some particular food (generally fish) for stated periods. In the case of a relative having been killed, the members of his family would often not cut their hair until his death had been avenged. On the main island of New Britain some dances were held after the death of a relative; but this was not done on Duke of York Island, except as already described, when the skull was exhibited. On New Ireland, when a chief died, no one could work for one, two, or three weeks. When the body was buried at sea this period was considerably shortened. I do not know of a similar custom on Duke of York. In S.E. New Guinea I noticed at Goodenough Island the custom of amputating a joint or joints from the fingers of relatives whenever any of their friends were sick. At a village called Iakalova we saw people whose hands had been thus mutilated—one woman having one or two joints removed from her first, third, and fourth fingers; many others, including mere children, were thus disfigured. In the Engineer group the women have blackened faces and bodies, and shoulder belts of white shells (*Cypraea ovula*). At Fergusson Island the women wear white plaited armlets, a broad belt of the same kind round the body just above the breasts, and a narrow one—all of the same material—crossed round the neck. On Dobu they wear a great bundle of small cords suspended round the neck.[1]

I have not known in New Britain of any instance of a human sacrifice being offered in cases of serious illness or of the strangling of widows at the death of the husband, but the latter custom was very common in Fiji, and even so recently as 1865 a chief was shot in a skirmish, and his mother, as well as his two wives, were strangled, to be buried with him. The custom of sacrificing a child, in the hope of averting the death of a sick man by placating the spirit who was afflicting him, was, however, not unknown in the Solomon Islands, and on one occasion was witnessed by Mr. Macdonald at Ruviana, Solomon Islands. The child was brought out sitting

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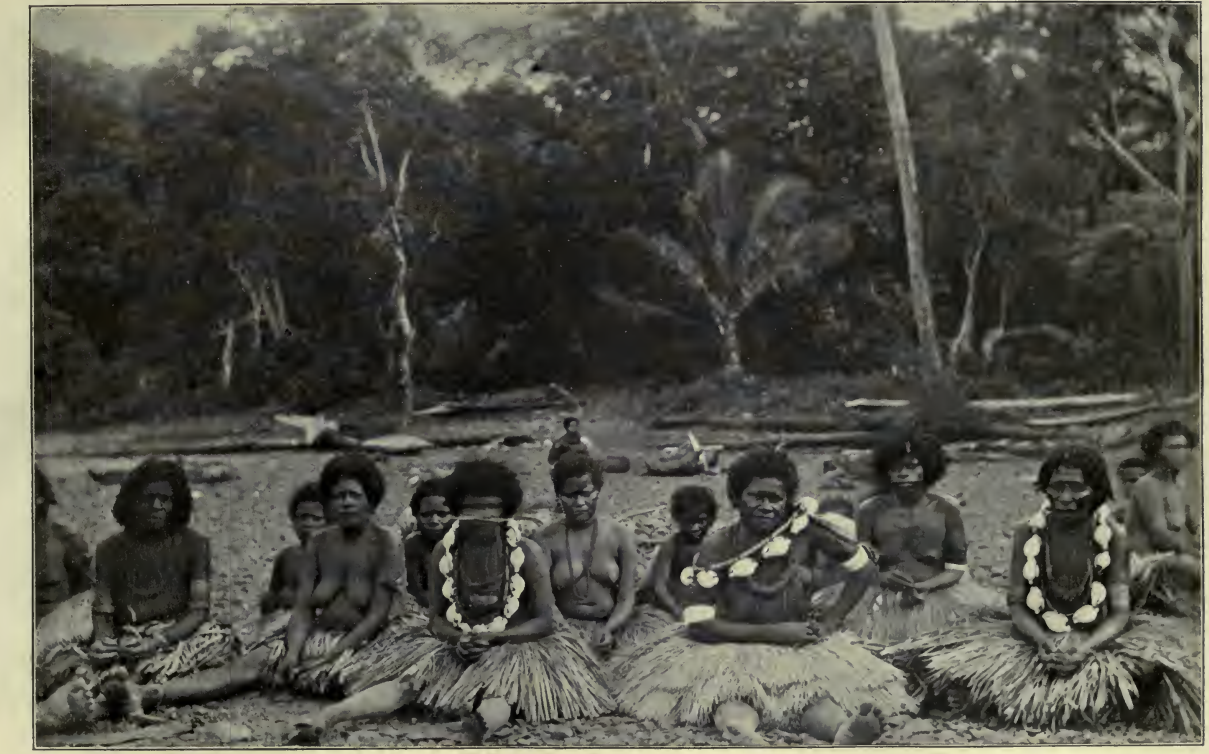
[1] Some of the burial customs at the Solomons have been described, pp. 209-218.



Women wearing Shells as a sign of Mourning, Basilaki, S.E. New Guinea.

on the back of a man, who ran several times round the *tambu*-house and then into the sea, where he ducked under water seven or eight times. He then put the child down and hit him with both hands on his head. After this he held the child up, and another man came and cut off his head with a knife or tomahawk. The Rev. A. Penny, M.A., states[1] that on the Island of Ysabel, after everything had been done for the recovery of a sick man called Kikola, the son of a chief called Bera, but without success, the efficacy of a human sacrifice was next tried. Men were sent to steal a victim. A child about three or four years old was fixed upon: "Him they decoyed from his mother's care, and out of her hearing, as she was working in her garden; then, snatching him up, the robbers put him in a canoe and paddled across to the little island on which Kikola lay. There, beside the dying man, the victim's throat was cut, and, as the life-blood ebbed away, the old man called upon the Tindalo to take the life he now was offering in lieu of that he longed to save." This also proving useless, the chief Bera, fearing all hope was gone, caused Kikola to be conveyed back to the chief place of abode, where he died before the day on which the victim was sacrificed had passed away. An offer was made to bury him in a coffin, but his grandmother insisted on the performance of the obsequies with which countless generations of chiefs had been buried. "The dead man was accordingly placed upright in a deep grave, and the earth filled in until it reached the neck; the grave being then about half full, fires were lighted round the head, from which the scorched flesh soon dropped, leaving the skull bare, and this was carried to the canoe-house and set up to be worshipped as a Tindalo. The dead man's young wife and child were next dragged to the open grave and strangled there, and their bodies were thrown in, together with his possessions, guns, rifles, money, and valuables of all kinds. The work of destruction was not even yet complete. Every one there brought an offering—some article of value, which he cast into the grave; rows of cocoa-nut trees were cut down and groves of bananas hacked to pieces; then the grave was filled in and a heap of stones piled over it, and the whole assembly began the dismal crying and wailing, which lasted many days—a fit type of the 'sorrow which has no hope.'"

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[1] *Ten Years in Melanesia.*

Burying a chief with the head above ground was also the custom in Aneityum, New Hebrides, but in those cases female mourners watched the body until the skin, etc., on the skull was decomposed, after which it was duly kept in a cave or in the sacred grove. During this time the spirit of the chief was fed by small quantities of food being placed in a basket and hung on a branch of some tree near by. In ordinary cases of burying in the sea a fire was lit on the beach so that the spirit of the departed might come and warm himself, if he felt so inclined.

Some mourning customs at death have been already described. Revenge to be taken is described, p. 143; obligation to the spirits of the dead, p. 170; casting stones into a cave, p. 241; fear of survivors when a chief died, p. 244; tying *diwara* round the leg of a deceased chief to secure lease of land, p. 271; native ideas of spirit-land, pp. 190-195; cremation in Shortlands group, pp. 211-218. On Duke of York Island houses and villages were often abandoned on account of sickness or death. Trees were planted in remembrance (*naruina*) of the dead, and feasts were also held at stated periods, at some of which offerings were made to the spirit of some deceased ancestors or *tebarans.* This was done sometimes by a man calling out the name of a *tebaran* and presenting a pig to him, declaring at the same time that the animal belonged to him, but they were going to eat it. The words called out were *a mam boro kumi meat ani* (this is your pig we are eating). Sometimes a small piece of skin would be cut from the head of the pig, and then struck with an old cocoa-nut by a man, calling out at the same time the name of the *tebaran.* The word for a disembodied spirit was *niono*, that for a supernatural being was *tebaran*, but the distinction was not clear to the natives in the case of ancestors who had possessed great *mana* upon earth. They appeared to be considered as *tebarans*, and as objects to be prayed to, especially when fishing or needing help. There was no recognised means of communicating with them except by offerings, charms, and prayer (*papet*). The *papet* was not simply a petition, but was accompanied with blowing lime and the use of charms. These *tebaran*, or ghosts, were supposed to influence events in some ways, to be kindly disposed towards their own people, and to specially favour their kinsfolk.

On the mainland of New Britain the ordinary name for the abode of departed spirits was *Ruarua na Tulugien.* There were, however, other names used in different districts. Gududuru was the name in one district, and Takum was the name in another district. This latter name was often applied to the hole behind some far-away hills, which was supposed to be the entrance to the spirit-land, and all strange noises were understood to be caused by the spirits moving in that hole. There was a separate Hades called Iakupia (or Yakupia) for poor people. This was also the place to which those went at whose burial no shell-money (*tambu*) was distributed. Feasts were given and native money distributed in honour of the dead both on Duke of York and on the mainland. At one of these, which was named *Tunkubin*, bananas and *tambu* were given. After the ceremony was over those who had been sleeping in the house of the deceased or over the corpse were at liberty to leave. Another of those feasts was called *kokoroi*, because the bananas and other property distributed were first hung (*kore*) on a bamboo. Relatives and friends showed their sympathy also for the bereaved by sleeping together with them (*weingit*) over the grave of the dead. After the body was buried they often placed empty baskets and sham coils of shell-money around the grave or the house wherein the body was buried. These were supposed to represent the amount of food and of *tambu* given out at the funeral. They had a tradition in a certain district called Kininigunan of a man named Warulung who returned from the dead and brought messages to the people from departed spirits. They also believed that spirits could enter into the lower animals, and they had a distinct word (*Watada*) to express the fact that some particular animal was possessed by the spirit of a man. It was said of a pig which escaped much hunting and many missiles that a man (*i.e.* his spirit) had entered into that pig. The ignis fatuus (*Wawiniai*) was supposed to be a spirit.

There were no special primitive ancestors of the tribe worshipped by the people, but great respect was shown by the respective families to their special totem.

I have mentioned (p. 195) the punishment meted out to niggardly people in the spirit-world, but another account which I received states that the same punishment is often inflicted upon others. They say that at the entrance to *matana nion* stands an old *tebaran*, called *Taktaki pau na tara*, the cutter of the buttocks of men. His sole business is to cut and insult that part of the body, especially in the case of adulterers, thieves, and miserly fellows. After the spirit of a man guilty of any of these actions gets through this ordeal he is seized by the avenging spirits by his legs and arms, and his buttocks are dashed against the buttress roots of the chestnut tree. Why the buttocks are selected as the most suitable parts for punishment is not clear.

At Dobu the name of the dead must not be mentioned in the hearing of friends. If the deceased bore the name of a tree, a flower, or a fish some other name for any of these objects was substituted. If some living man bore the same name as the deceased he would change his name to Wariesa, which literally means another name or namesake.

The Spirit Mountain in the D'Entrecasteaux group is called Bwebweso, and is on Normanby Island (Duau). When passing it no one must utter the name Bwebweso above a whisper, for fear the canoe or boat would not move on. No one dared to climb the mountain sides, lest the spirits should lead them astray, or for fear lest on some sudden impulse he might speak some word or sentence loudly, whereupon he would be turned into wood or stone. No one who had sores could hope to reach the place where happy people live in Bwebweso, for furious winds and storms would sweep them from the cliffs and ridges long before they could reach the place. Spirits from islands near Normanby are said to wait until the wind blows in a certain direction, so that they may travel from wave-crest to wave-crest until they reach the nearest part of the coast, and then they go along the coast to Bwebweso. After ascending the mountain the spirits come to a bridge formed by the body of a great snake stretched across a deep chasm. Over this they must go to reach the happy spirit-land; but the bridge is a very treacherous one, as the natives say that if the spirit is that of a great man and a great fighter, the snake remains quite still and firmly stretched out, so that the spirit can easily pass over to the happy land on the other side, but if the spirit is that of some old, ugly, deformed man, or of one afflicted with sores, the snake turns and twists so that the spirit falls into the chasm.

Many of the beliefs and practices of the Samoans respecting death and burial have been described, pp. 218-231. The sick were carefully attended to. Special food was prepared for them, and extra mats spread for them to sleep upon. When a chief was near death his brother chiefs and the *tulafales* (orators) would go to visit him (*usu*), and beg of him not to leave them desolate. They made very many flattering speeches, telling the sick man that he was the only one they could depend upon; that if he died and left them they would be unable to do anything whatever. I have known a *tulafale* fined after one of these visits for not exaggerating enough the importance of the sick man to the community,—that is, he was fined for not lying sufficiently. When the family realised that the patient was going to die, messengers were sent to all his relatives informing them of the fact. If death took place before the messengers could reach them, others were sent to convey the information. In each case, however, the members of the family would come to visit the sick man, bringing with them fine mats, native cloth, and other articles classed under the name of *tonga*. There is some doubt in the native mind as to the meaning of this custom, but I think that the original idea was that the spirit of the property should accompany the spirit of the deceased to the other world. There seemed to be dread of a spirit going poor and destitute as well as unattended. Many inquiries would be made especially of the *tama fafine*, that is, sister or sister's children, as to whether any of them had uttered any imprecation against him, and she would be required to declare her innocence, or to remove the curse by filling her mouth with cocoa-nut water and then ejecting it either towards or on the body of the patient. When death took place the body was wrapped up in native cloth and then laid out on a mat. The old custom was for the relatives and friends to beat their heads with stones until the blood ran down. This was called *taulanga toto*, that is, an offering of blood, but I do not think it was done to propitiate the gods, but like the other acts, such as rending their garments, beating their bodies, tearing and cutting off the hair, was simply an expression of an affection for the deceased and sorrow for their loss. Large fires were lighted in front of the house. These were kept burning all night until the body was buried, and sometimes for a week and ten days afterwards. This also, I think, was in late years simply a mark of affection, but the original idea was that of giving warmth to the spirit of the deceased, who was presumed to be still present, and was probably also regarded as giving some protection to the mourners against any hostile action of the spirits. The men who took hold of the body were *paia* (sacred) for the time, were forbidden to touch their own food, and were fed by others. No food was eaten in the same house with the dead body. The chiefs gathered together every evening in front of the house and ate their supper there. This was supplied by the family of the deceased chief. The custom was called *paenga*. They believed that the spirits of the dead might give diseases to the living, so that an internal disease might leave a dead man and enter into another member of the family. This was especially feared when several members of the family had died from the same disease, and in order to prevent this they would open the dead body in some cases, and cut out the diseased part and burn it. They would also go round the house in which the sick man was, brandishing a spear and striking the house, to frighten away the disease or spirit which had caused the sickness.

They had many superstitions with regard to burials. If they found a difficulty in digging a grave, on account of meeting with rocks, they still persevered, because the open grave, if left without an occupant, would demand another one of the family.

For the same reason they never left an open grave. When finished, some of the grave-diggers sat by the side of it until the body was brought to it. The wooden pickaxe and the cocoa-nut shells used as shovels in digging the grave were carefully buried in it.

At funerals a dead chief was often carried by different parties to the bounds of the village on a bier, presumably to allow his spirit to look at his old home for the last time. In Duke of York Island, as previously described, they did this before the man died. The sister, in Samoa, broke a bottle of scented oil and poured it over the dead man's face, before the cover was put on and the earth filled in. Whilst a man was sick his relatives and friends entreated him to *faamalosi* (be strong), and not die and leave the land to go to wreck, and after his death they praised him and spoke as if the whole world would go to ruin now that he was dead. This was done because they believed that the spirit was still near and heard all that was said. This also gave them an opportunity for making some plain statements, and his relatives often reproached him for having deserted them. When a chief died the most violent expressions of grief were practised, and in addition to the *taulanga toto* already described, the mats were thrown out of the house and the sides broken in, and as long as the funeral ceremonies and feasts continued the lagoon and reefs were made *sa* or *tabu*. No canoe or boat could travel over the lagoon anywhere near to the village, and no man could fish in it or on the reef. The crew of any boat passing the village, even if they were ignorant of the fact of the chief's death, would be abused and beaten, and the same would happen to any traveller passing along the road through the village.

The families of all the principal chiefs had a distinctive and respectful name for the death of their chief. Samoans were very unwilling to speak of death, so much so indeed that the ordinary Melanesian and Polynesian word for death (*mate*), is only used by them for the death of an animal, or as a term of abuse to a man. The usual terms for death are *ua oti* (he is dead), *ua maliu* (he has gone). When a *tulafale* (orator) died it was said *ua usu fono* (he has gone to the council). The death of a chief was *ua gasoloao* (the titles have passed away), or *ua taapeape pāpā* (the titles are scattered about), meaning that they have now been returned to the towns or districts which gave them to the deceased. In addition to these, certain high families had phrases for death which were peculiar to them, and were always used, *e.g.*, *ua to le timu* (the rain is falling), that is, the tears of the mourner are like the rain; *ua masaesae le langi* (the heavens are split asunder).

I never saw any other mode of burial than that of putting the body in a rude stone vault or in a shallow grave, but Rev. J. B. Stair[1] states that they sometimes put the body in a canoe and sent it adrift, or placed it on a stage erected in the forest where it was left to decay, after which the bones were collected and buried. The head was considered a very sacred part, and in olden days the bodies of chiefs were frequently buried near their habitations until decomposition had set in, when the head was severed from the body and interred in some family burying-place inland, to save it from insult in times of war. This interment was accompanied with feasts, dances, and sham fights. These customs show that the older Melanesian form of disposing of the dead had continued in Samoa to comparatively recent times. The skull was borne to the appointed place on a kind of stage, and accompanied by a large number of armed men. In Duke of York Island, as described on p. 389, the same custom of sham fighting for the burial-place whilst bearing the body was observed.

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[1] *Old Samoa*, p. 178.

One or two high families on Upolu practised a rude kind of embalming in olden days, but I never heard of this being done in recent years. The bodies were usually buried soon after death, except when kept for the arrival of some distant relatives. There were no professional grave-diggers, so far as I know, but I think it very probable that in some of the large families there were certain members whose privileges and duty it would be to make the vault or dig the grave of their deceased chief. Valuable property was often buried with the body, and his club and spears were placed on the grave and allowed to decay. As illustrating the sentiment which prompted these offerings, I was told of one old chief in recent years who had been very fond of tea. When he was buried his daughter threw the tea-cup which he had used into the grave. After the funeral a time was appointed for the *ai tangi*, or feast of weeping. All the relatives who visited the sick man, and all who came to visit the family, brought a fine mat or piece of native cloth (*siapo*). Then on every night between the burial and the feast baskets of food (*ato*) were brought by friends, who called out the name of some member of the family to whom it was given as a mark of respect. This food was distributed to the relatives, who were expected to give in return a mat or piece of *siapo*. Then when a quantity of property had thus been accumulated, the day was fixed for the *ai tangi*, and all the mats and other property were distributed by the family of the deceased chief to his *tulafales* (orators) and brother chiefs.

CHAPTER XVII

MISCELLANEOUS

In this chapter I purpose considering briefly some matters which have been omitted in previous chapters or which could not properly be included in the subjects under consideration.

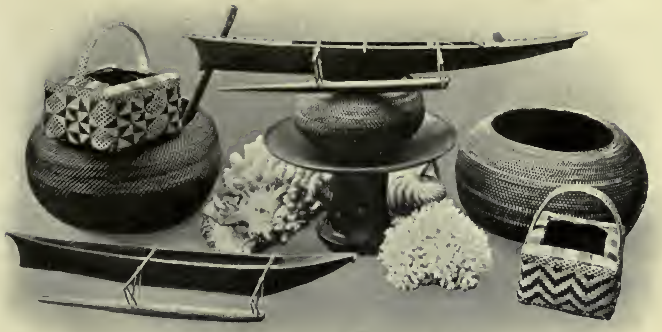
Narcotics.—It will be quite correct to say that there are no narcotics whatever in use amongst the Melanesians in New Britain, but the use of the areca nut (*bua*) and tobacco is universal. The areca nut is chewed together with the leaves or fruit of the betel pepper and a quantity of lime. The lime is contained in small bags made from the leaf of the pandanus, and the betel pepper is dipped into this. Spatulas are very rarely used, the general plan being, as stated above, to dip the pepper in the lime, together with the use of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, which also serves as a toothpick. A wooden mortar and pestle for bruising the areca nut is used by old men who have lost their teeth. The natives always give the nuts and betel pepper as a mark of hospitality and friendship, and the proper etiquette is for the recipient to hand back some of the nuts to the giver, when all eat together. The natives say that they act as a stimulant, and they certainly allay the feeling of hunger. The natives from Polynesia, who were never acquainted with the use of the areca nut, very readily acquire the habit, and chew it, as do some of the European residents. In those not accustomed to the use of it a very small quantity produces giddiness. A kind of tobacco was smoked in New Britain. The leaves were rolled up into the shape of a very large and thick cigar. The mode of smoking was to inhale the smoke, swallow it, and then stand with the mouth open to allow some of the smoke to escape. This form has, however, long passed away in all places where the imported tobacco can be obtained. The habit of smoking imported tobacco is very readily acquired; I have often visited people who had never smoked tobacco and were quite ignorant of its use, but on visiting these people, a few months afterwards, we have found them quite unwilling to accept any other article of trade. The pipes used in New Britain are all imported, but on some parts of Bouka in the Solomons group the natives themselves have made clay pipes in imitation of what we used to know as the old Maori pipe. Pipes were generally smoked by individuals who often chewed the tobacco before inserting it in the pipe. This method required a live coal to be kept constantly on the pipe. Both smoking tobacco and chewing the areca nut are, I think, carried to excess, but so far as we could gather there was no bad effect on the health of the people.

In Samoa, as in all the Polynesian groups, the use of the *'ava* (*Piper methisticum*) was universal, but it was not drunk to such an excess as is common in other islands. It was indigenous, and in former times the root was always chewed, mixed with water, and drunk with great ceremony. Tobacco was introduced, the leaves being hung up in the house to dry and generally smoked in the form of a cigarette made from the tobacco rolled in the dried leaf of the banana. Smoking was practised by men, women, and children, and was often carried to great excess. Very few natives chewed tobacco.

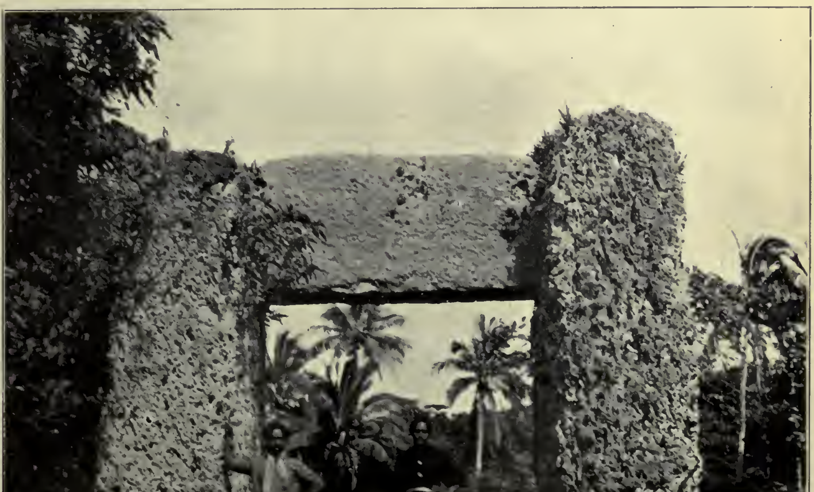
SALUTATIONS.—The only form of salutation which I witnessed in New Britain was by individuals speaking to each other, and in some cases putting one arm round each other's neck. Husbands did not greet their wives even after long absence, nor did the members of a family greet each other in the morning; but I have noticed friends and relations who met after a long absence and danger embracing each other and weeping. The rules of conduct and politeness between men and women, other than those in close relationship, were that the men should avoid all intercourse with the women; in fact, in some places it was very unsafe to look at a woman, and more dangerous still to laugh when doing so. Men and women ate together, and the women were sometimes consulted with reference to any proposed action. Aged people were always well treated.

In Samoa they saluted each other by sniffing. A special salutation to a chief was given by the visitor conveying the chief's hand to his mouth and kissing or sniffing it. It is said that in former days the people bowed to the ground before a sacred chief and rubbed their faces with the sole of his foot. As in Melanesia there were no family morning greetings, nor did husbands greet their wives even after long absence. Samoans were exceedingly polite to strangers, and rules of precedence were strictly observed on all occasions. Except in '*ava*-drinking all the food prepared was given to the guests, who distributed it amongst themselves according to rank. Women occupied a much higher social position in Samoa than they did in New Britain. They were always treated well and as being on a par with the men. The aged were treated with respect and were never abandoned. Strangers were always received in the best house and food was specially prepared for them.

CUSTOMS.—In Melanesia there were no rules of hospitality recognised except in the case of relatives or very near friends. A stranger was always regarded as hostile. In those cases, however, where visits were paid to villages for trading purposes or by mutual arrangement the visitors were always kindly received and some food provided for them, but never with the lavish hospitality of the Polynesians. In New Ireland the custom was to provide visitors with temporary wives, but this did not obtain, so far as I know, in New Britain, a few miles distant. They had many rules of propriety especially with regard to the intercourse of the sexes. Sisters and brothers would not eat together certain kinds of food consisting of certain nuts made into puddings (*gem*). They were *lamono, i.e.* cautioned against doing so as being a breach of social custom or law. It is sometimes stated that these people had no ideas of morality or of the difference between right and wrong, but this is erroneous. The rules of propriety are as strictly observed by the island races as they are in more civilised places. A man would be very much ashamed to meet his brother-in-law or his



Three Round Baskets from New Britain ; two Square Baskets from Samoa ; two Models of Samoan Canoes.



Trilithon, Tongatabu.

The upper stone is morticed into the two upright ones.

sister if he had committed a theft. This is surely a proof of a moral sense, and those who have resided for any length of time amongst these island races could, I am certain, give many instances showing that the natives have a keen sense of right and wrong. I myself knew a young fellow in my own family who resisted improper overtures made to him by a trader's wife in New Britain and also did the same in Sydney, and alleged as his only reason for refusing that he felt it to be wrong. If a man's sister or mother had done anything wrong he and his friends would beat her severely, and in some instances kill her on account of shame which her action had caused to them. A person who had committed incest (*kuou*) would be horribly tormented and killed by his own friends, who would say that they were killing themselves in the action which they were taking.

In Samoa the rules of propriety, as already mentioned, were very numerous. The young were often reproved for being forward, and there are words displaying displeasure at such conduct. Respectful behaviour was constantly inculcated. All exposure of the person was regarded as indecent, and if a woman exposed herself intentionally it was considered the highest insult. Many customs were observed on the presentation of food to visitors. Sometimes the parties bringing the food took off the outer garment of native cloth in which they had decked themselves and left it behind with the food for the visitors. A member of one village, Salelesi, who might be present at any of the feasts had the curious privilege of using the most improper language to a chief, and also that of taking any pig from the number of those presented as his own special share. The people of this village occupied the position similar to that of court jesters. Another village claimed the privilege of having the first cup of *'ava*; another one that of taking precedence of all troops in war time and of always having the head of the pig as their portion. The people of another village which had no trees or plants from which mats could be made had the privilege accorded to them, when they slept away from home, of rolling up the mats which had been supplied to them and taking them away with them. The people of another village claimed, and were allowed, to make speeches when lying down, which would be a great insult in most cases. Sitting was the posture of reverence, and all conversation in the house was carried on sitting. In the open space of the village (*malae*) speeches were made standing, and the speaker had his staff of office always in front of him and placed as closely as possible to his feet. If the staff of office was projected at an angle from the speaker it would be considered as an insult. There were some ceremonies and exchange of property on a girl attaining the age of puberty.

THE SAU AT ROTUMA.—One of the greatest dignitaries in the island of Rotuma only held office for a short time, not exceeding twelve months. He had the dignity of office, but without its power. He held for the time being the highest social position, and occupied a high seat of cocoa-nut leaves, a fit emblem of his short-lived honours. He had the privilege of drinking first at a *kava* party, thus taking precedence of all the chiefs; was fed and well looked after by the people of the town; and at certain times there were feasts and dances at his residence, food being taken by the chiefs or their representatives from all parts of the island. He presided at certain dances regularly held when, as at his drinking *kava*, the old gods (*Atua*) were invoked. The invocation of the dead was indeed a special part of his office. These *Atua* appear to have been old chiefs whose history was not as well known as their names. When the time of his tenure of office was over the Sau retired at once to the lower ranks, or, as a native expressed it, "he became cook again." This office appears to be a relic of some ancient custom, but it is difficult now to say what custom or office it represented. Sau is also the title of the ruling chief in Lakemba, Fiji, and also appears in Sau Manono, the name of a titled lady in the family of the Vu-ni-valu at Bau. The same word Hau is used in Tonga for reigning prince, and in the word Sau-alii which is the respectful term for a spirit or god in Samoa.

YAM FEASTS AT KIRIWINA, S.E. NEW GUINEA.—On the occasion of these annual harvest feasts there was always a great display of native property. At the one now described the chief Bulitara had been kept for some days without food, with the exception of a small quantity of some special kind and some areca nuts. After a certain number of days he came out of his house and tied a piece of prepared fibre round one post in all the yam houses in the village which were already filled with yams. This made the houses and yams *tabu*, and no one could then touch them. A small platform was then erected on which armlets, native money, etc., etc., were displayed, whilst the dancing went on and the feasts were being held.

These dances and feasts lasted many days. When these were finished all the people gathered together, shouted, beat the posts of the houses, overturned everything where a spirit might be hiding, drove away the spirits, and the feasts were over. The explanation given is that the spirits were thus made wealthy for another year. They had shared in the feasts, had seen the dances, and heard the songs. The spirits of the yams were theirs, the spirits of the property displayed were also theirs, and they were now made wealthy and fully provided for and so they were driven out. This was the explanation also given to me of the custom of displaying all the wealth of the family and village in Duke of York before the corpse of a chief. He was supposed to take the spirits of all these things with him to the spirit-land.

EXOGAMY AT LUA NIUA (Ontong Java or Lord Howe group).—This is an immense atoll situate about 120 miles N.E. of Ysabel Island in the Solomons group, and is very probably the first land which was sighted by the Spaniards when they discovered the Solomon Islands. The atoll was very rarely visited by Europeans until a very recent period. I have already described a visit made by me to this group some years ago.[1] Soon after that visit a most intelligent Tongan, Semisi Nau, was appointed to the group as native missionary. He states that the language is about half Tongan and half Samoan, and gives the following description of some of the manners and customs of the people which I deem it best to give as he has written it. He writes :—

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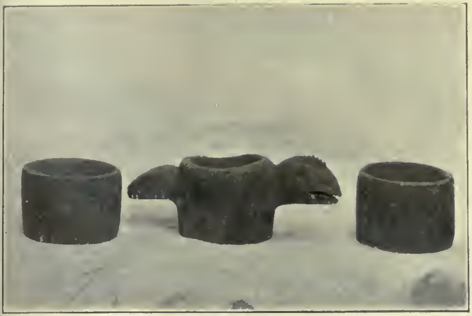
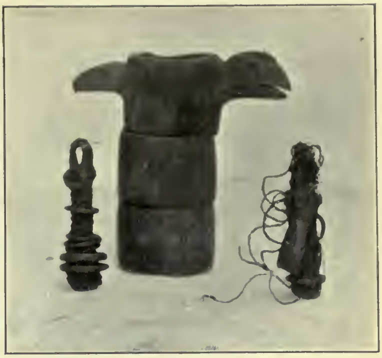
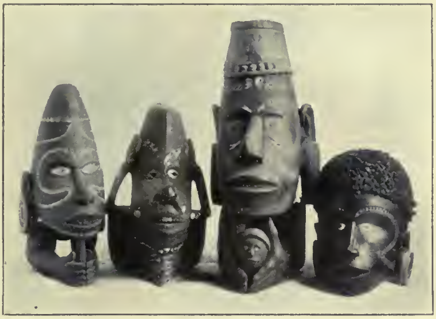
[1] *George Brown, D.D., Pioneer Missionary and Explorer*, p. 525, etc.

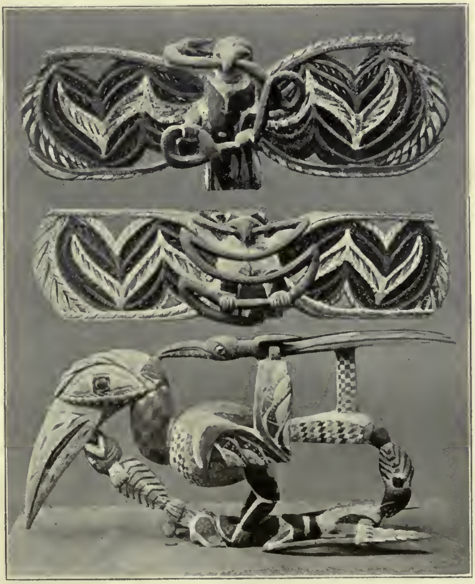




Small Rings with Turtle's Head carved on one of them.
They were worshipped by a large village on Choiseul, Solomon Islands. The two small objects were also very sacred and were always taken on war expeditions to ensure success.



Wooden Carvings used on Stern of War-Canoes (tomakos), Solomon Islands.



Carvings of Birds with Snakes, from New Ireland.

Now concerning the life of the people in this land. They are divided into two divisions, the first being called Vahi-Koolau, the second Vahi-Keubu, and this division is for marriage purposes. When a man of Vahi-Koolau marries, he marries a woman of Vahi-Keubu division. It is just so with the man of Vahi-Keubu, he must take a wife from Vahi-Koolau. Now when the marriage party assemble upon the town square, then those of the other division abuse the bride or brides saying: "Mahe i ko ko avaga i moe maua seai moe olua," the meaning of which is: "Take away your women of evil face."

Now, concerning those who are dead and buried, that is the mothers or fathers, these become the children's gods, and they go and pray to them beside their graves. But should one of the sick children die, then are (the parents) very angry, and they go and dig up the bones and smash them to pieces and throw them anywhere or cast them into the sea.

In regard to divination, or if they desire to know whence the sickness comes to the children, the people get some cocoa-nut leaves, and instead of carrying them in they drag them along the ground. They then split off the mid-rib, and then they place three leaves together, and should they all be of equal length they say the sickness is not from the spirits of the dead, but if one should be short and another long then it is said that the spirits of their dead are angry, and so at once offerings and prayers are made to them.

It is even so when the people put out to sea to fish. They pray to the spirits of their fathers, asking that fish may be sent to their hooks. Now the name given to the spirits of the dead is Aitu.

It is an interesting fact that amongst a Polynesian people we find the exogamous classes which are so characteristic of the Melanesians, and which so far as I know are not now found amongst Polynesian peoples.

The inhabitants of this atoll are undoubtedly Polynesians, and their language is very closely related to the Samoan, as from my knowledge of that language I could readily understand the meaning of many words, and if I had been able to stay a few days longer I feel confident that I could have conversed with the people. The probability is that the people came from the Ellice group about 1000 miles to the eastward. It is certain that the people of the Ellice group drifted from Samoa. They count twenty-seven generations since that event took place, and still have the seat of the canoe in which they were drifted, and they also point to a chestnut tree which was planted by them. In any attempt, however, to calculate the time which has elapsed since that event it must always be remembered that a brother would often succeed a brother, and this would be counted as two generations. The difficulty which presents itself is as follows: The Samoans are not now exogamous, nor so far as I can learn are the people in the Ellice group. If, therefore, the Lua Niua people came from the Ellice group, as it is almost certain that they did, and if, as we know, the people in that group certainly came from Samoa, how can we account for the fact that they (the Lua Niua people) are exogamous whilst the people in the other groups have not now any class divisions? I think the probable explanation is that the totems, which formerly distinguished the respective families in Samoa, and the semi-sacred relation of the sister and the sister's children to the brother, and to the brother's children, show that the exogamous classes formerly existed in Samoa; that the people who drifted away from that group to the Ellice group were also exogamous at that time, but that in their case as also in Samoa there has been a steady development from that state with its matriarchal descent to an intermarrying condition with agnatic descent. If this be accepted as a probable explanation it follows that the Lua Niua people drifted from the Ellice group whilst the people there were still exogamous, and that owing to their peculiarly isolated position they have not been affected by the same causes which have produced the change in the other groups. The only other explanation which is possible, I think, is that the Lua Niua group has also been settled by immigrants from some other groups who were still in the exogamous state, and that they have succeeded in imposing that condition upon the other members of the community. There are traditions of a settlement being formed of immigrants from one of the Gilbert Islands. I do not know the meaning of the names of the two class divisions, nor what are their respective totems, but hope to secure more information at an early date. The word "*vahi*" is evidently the same as the Tongan "*vahe*" and the Samoan "*vaega*," meaning a division or class. The word "*Aitu*" for spirit is the same in Samoa.

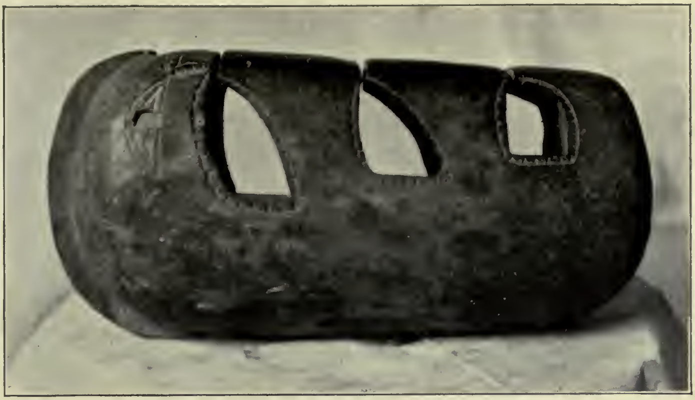
Religious Beliefs in South-Eastern New Guinea.—Rev. Dr. Bromilow says that the people of Dobu (Goulvain Island) believe in a Supreme Being called by them Eaboaine; that he was known to have created man, and that he always saw that each child born had the full number of fingers and toes, and was supplied with ears, nose, etc. A child born with its tongue tied was spoken of as having it tied up by Eaboaine, and any deformity of limb was ascribed to Eaboaine's hand before birth. After birth, wizards, witches, and evil spirits of all kinds, which appear in the shape of little birds, fireflies, etc., were believed to cause men endless trouble, from which there was no escape except through the influence of sorcery. Having seen that the child is born, Eaboaine was believed to leave the human life to itself, and even at death he had nought to do with the spirit, which did not return to him but went to Bwebweso on Normanby Island, where its monotony of existence was only broken by partaking of the froth of the waves.

Native Chant.—Dr. Bromilow also gives the following chant, with translation, intoned at Dobu, at a feast before the yams were divided out, by an old man who for some days previously was tabu (sacred), and not allowed to partake of ordinary diet lest his performances of spraying areca nuts and blessing baskets should be of no avail.

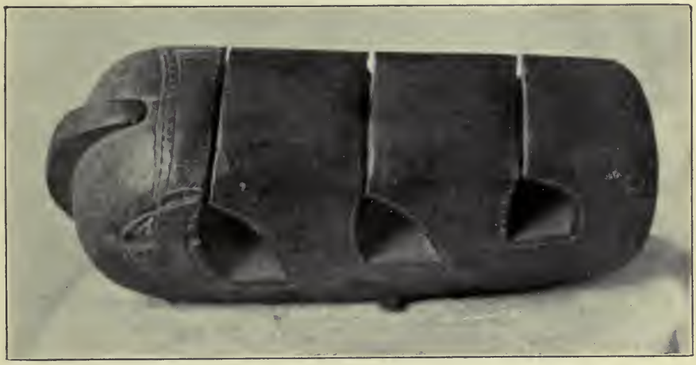
Chant.	Translation.
Eaboeaboaine !	Creator !
Maadega u be 'uma ?	Whence dost thou come down ?
Garewega u be 'uma ;	From Heaven dost thou come ?
Iau dabadabalili,	Many scattered,
Dokoi dokodokoi ;	In baskets is it basketed ;
Egu sakari masurina,	My feast its food,
Rautoma masurina ;	Large quantity its food ;
Rautoma emumuia ;	Large quantity for you ;
Ia ! taudi ! Ia ! Gogama,	Oh ! They ! Oh ! The children,
Awadi i eguadaia ;	Their mouths are stopped up ;
Iaita be i 'eniu ?	Who can eat thee ?
Uerau tomatoma,	You large quantity !
Ia ! 'adi keulaula,	Oh ! their wasted portion !
Ia ! Bebai uiagasi,	Oh ! yams of common kind,
Iaita i kakani !	Who will eat you ?
Ia ! 'adi keulaula,	Oh ! their wasted portion !

Chant.	Translation.
Kuraiea ma 'uluna,	That left over becomes spoilt,
Kuraiea negunegu,	That left over the insects cover,
Egu asa gamwanaia,	My village in the midst,
I dori baragaie,	(The heap) it comes this way,
I dori badoroie,	(The heap) it goes that way,
Iaita i 'eniu,	Who can eat thee ?
Ierau tomatoma.	It is a large quantity.

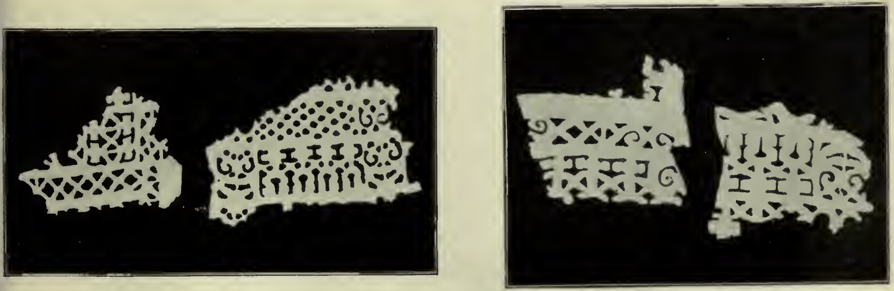
Music.—In New Britain the wooden drums were made from logs of various sizes which were hollowed out as in Eastern Polynesia, but with a much narrower aperture. These were beaten with the end of a small stick on the edge of the aperture, and not struck with a heavy wooden mallet as in Polynesia. The other drums, which also were made of various lengths and sizes, were hollow wooden cylinders covered at one end with the skin of the iguana and beaten by the fingers. These were always used at their dances. They had also Pandean pipes of various lengths and sizes. These were bound together by rattan in the ordinary and well-known shape, but in addition to this they had bundles of bamboos of different lengths bound together in a circular form. They also had rattles which were used as ornaments, and were hung at the doors of their huts to act as alarms in case any one entered the house during the night. Jews' harps were made from a segment of bamboo. They were about 8 inches in length, the upper end being rounded and then cut away to a fine point at the other end. The tongue was then cut out and scraped so as to leave room for vibration, and the two lower ends were bound together. At the upper end there was a piece of string attached, which was laid over the ball of the thumb. The speaker breathed on the loose tongue at the extreme lower end, whilst the upper part of the tongue was struck by the ball of the thumb over which the string at the upper end had been passed. The flutes used were made of bamboo with three holes in addition to the one into which the speaker blew. They had also a kind of harp called *goragora*, of which, unfortunately, I have no example. It was made from a cocoa-nut leaf, but, so far as I can remember, was not much used. A number of boys, however, would sometimes go to a chief's house and play in front of the house, when the chief would invite them in and distribute areca nuts to the performers. If he had no nuts in the house he would ask them to wait whilst he went out and purchased some, as he would be very much ashamed if the boys should go away without any acknowledgment from him of their courtesy. They had also an instrument made from a small disc of wood which was swung round at the end of a stick and made a humming noise. Of this also I have no specimen, and hesitate to describe it from memory; but I think it took the place of the Australian "bull-roarer," but was not used as a part of any religious ceremony. They also used the conch shell as a trumpet. I have lately received from New Ireland a form of drum which was quite new to me. It is made from a block of wood, and is 21 inches in length. The circumference at one end is 30 inches, and at the other end 27 inches. At the thicker end there is a large triangular-shaped aperture right through the block, the interior of which is hollowed out on *both* sides of the aperture. The middle opening is also of a triangular shape, but is made a little higher up on the sides of the drum, and is hollowed



Curious Wooden Musical Instrument or Drum from New Ireland.



Another view of the above, showing the apertures on the top.



Prehistoric Fragments of Funerary Ornaments from Ruviana, Solomon Islands.

out more on one side of the inner part of the aperture than on the other. The third opening is placed still higher up on the sides of the drum, and is more circular in shape than the other two. It also is hollowed out more on one side of the inner part than on the other. Each aperture has a narrow slit on the top part of the drum. The music is caused by passing the hand rapidly over the upper part of the drum across the slits which I have mentioned. This produces several distinct notes. I have never seen anything like this instrument in any other part of the Pacific, and, so far as I know, the form is confined to a particular district of New Ireland.

SONGS (*kelekele*) were used at their dances, and consisted of a monotonous chant of words which, so far as we could gather, conveyed little or no meaning even to the performers themselves. Dances and songs were engaged in by men and women separately. I think, however, in the dances performed before the skull of a deceased chief the sexes danced together, but I have no note to confirm this impression. A copyright or ownership of these songs and dances was always acknowledged as being the property of the individual in whom the right was vested, or of the community to which it was known to belong. If a chief from some other district wished to acquire one of these dances he could do so in most cases by payment and by engaging the services of some of the vendors to instruct him and his people in the motions and the words. With the exception of the songs sung at these dances I know of no poetical productions used or sung by them. The natives of the Shortlands group, Solomon Islands, use Jews' harps, whistles, or flutes, a kind of stringed mouth harp, which is struck with a small stick, and bamboo pipes covered with skins with a small perforation through which the performer blows and produces a murmuring sound. They also throw up nuts of the *Calophyllum inophyllum*, each one of which strikes a different note.

In Samoa the principal musical instrument was the large wooden drum now called the longo. The Rev. J. B. Stair[1] states that the drum now used in Samoa was derived from Tonga, and that the old Samoan drum (*Nafa*) had a much narrower longitudinal aperture. If so, it must have resembled the Melanesian type more than the present instrument. The *longo* is hollowed out from a log of hard wood, is of various sizes, and is beaten on the edge of the aperture with a large wooden mallet. I once heard at Salelolonga, on the island of Savaii, the sound of the drum which was being beaten at Leulumoenga, at least twenty miles away. The conditions of the atmosphere and sea were of course very favourable, but the natives assured me that they often heard the sound under similar conditions. Whistles (*faa'ili*) were made of different kinds of material; the flute (*fangufangu*) was made of bamboo, but the use of these has well-nigh passed away. Mr. Stair describes an instrument called *pulotu* or *faa-alii* which was formed by fitting loosely a thin slip of board into a bed of close-grained wood. This was beaten with two small sticks, and was used exclusively by the highest chiefs. I never, however, saw one of these during my residence in the group. The drums used at the night dances consisted of a mat rolled round a bundle of bamboos cut into lengths of 3 feet. On these they made a hollow noise by striking them with a stick, and so beat time to the dancers and singers. They also used the conch shells as trumpets, by making a hole in one end; these were used in canoes when on a journey to signify the presence of a chief. One very large one was regarded at Matautu as the representative of their war-god, and was always taken with them and blown when they were fighting. Poetical compositions, as already noted, were very common in Samoa. They were extensively known, and though not repeated in precisely the same form they were always in practical agreement. Poetical compositions were always made on any special occasion or in commemoration of some fight or incident. Some of the men claimed to have special abilities for the production of these songs through heredity. Old historical events and persons were commemorated in songs, but there were no religious chants or songs in praise of the gods. Some of the words used in the songs are now obsolete, and the meaning of many of them is no longer known. The Samoans are very sensitive indeed to ridicule, especially in songs, and the composer of a song needs to be careful not to offend them in this respect. One poet in recent days who introduced a political allusion in his song had to produce twenty pigs in payment of a fine inflicted on him for so doing.

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[1] *Old Samoa*, p. 135.

REPRODUCTION AND PHYSICAL POWERS.—Some boys in Samoa were said to be born with the prepuce slit naturally, and in such cases they were supposed to have been operated upon by a spirit. There is a word in the language to express the fact *tefeaitu*, one operated on by the *aitu*, and this was regarded as a term of reproach. In a case of imperforate hymen the husband performed a successful operation with a shark's tooth. The Samoans have long black hair, but there were occasionally cases of people having hair of a reddish-brown colour, but it did not appear that there was any peculiarity of constitution connected with its occurrence. With regard to powers of endurance I have known a messenger take a letter twenty-five miles and return the same day. The Samoans certainly believed in the transmission by inheritance of certain physical and mental powers. Stature, strength, beauty of body, and mental power were supposed to descend in the families of chiefs. Skill in building, courage in war, and fluency in speech were often spoken of by the natives as descending from father to son. Planting a piece of *'ava* is one of the most simple operations in agriculture, yet hundreds of Samoans would not plant their own *'ava* but preferred to secure the services of a man who was supposed to have special qualifications or some special power or *mana*, because *'ava* planted by him always grew well; and the same custom applied, though not perhaps to the same extent, in planting yams.

Connections between whites and natives were very frequent in Samoa, and are likely to be for some time. There is a large half-caste population in proportion to the number of unions, as Samoan women are more fruitful with white husbands than with Samoans, and the children, especially those of the first cross, seem to be as strong as those of pure blood. In the opinion, however, of some the following generation is not so healthy. As to special talents I knew one half-caste who certainly developed a marvellous business capacity and powers of governing and directing men which neither father, mother, nor any of her family on either side possessed. The average number of a family is small, probably two or three. Large families occurred mostly amongst those who did not practise polygamy.

Places of Refuge, so far as I know, were not known in Melanesia, but there were some in Samoa. Falealupo, the town on the western end of Savaii, near to the *Fafā*, the circular opening down which the spirits of the dead passed on the way to their Hades, had the privilege of giving protection to all persons whose lives were in danger and who succeeded in reaching the town. The name used in any address in which the name of the town was referred to was not Falealupo but *Le Tapua'iga*, meaning those who did not engage in war but remained at home to pray for success and to be a refuge to which the defeated party might flee. In one place at least on Upolu there was a place of refuge for manslayers where they were safe, at all events, until investigation and trial. This was an old tree called "*O le asi pulu tangata*," the asi tree, the mediator of men. It was supposed to represent a deceased king who in olden times exercised the privilege of protecting all who fled to him.[1]

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[1] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 65.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

The system adopted by me in this work of giving under each chapter the customs of the Melanesians in New Britain and in some other groups, and those of the Samoans and other Polynesian groups, makes it unnecessary for me to specify the many points of resemblance in the languages or customs of the respective peoples which, in my opinion, show that there is strong presumptive evidence, at all events, that they are all descended from one common stock, of which the Melanesian is the oldest representative. I think, also, that the differences which now exist can all be accounted for by the facts that those tribes or families which resided in Indonesia were more affected by immigrants from the mainland of India than those who lived in the outlying groups; that on being driven out from Indonesia they took with them many of the manners and customs of those immigrant peoples, and that in their new homes and under new conditions they advanced more rapidly in culture than those members of the common stock who were living in the more distant groups were able to do. I am, of course, well aware of the fact that many of the customs which I have noted are not peculiar to either the Melanesian or the Polynesian peoples, but are also found amongst other primitive races, and so cannot always be used as proofs of identity of origin. They will, however, in those cases, I think, be interesting as giving another illustration of the widespread existence of any such customs.

I think it right, however, to state some of the principal points of difference which undoubtedly exist. These may, in the opinion of some of my readers, be considered as fatal objections to the opinions which I have ventured to express; but as my object in writing is to state facts from which other students may form their own opinions, and not simply to attempt to prove that any theories I may have are correct, this is a matter of little importance to me.

The Melanesians are exogamous, whilst in Samoa consanguinity is the only bar to marriage. I have described these relationships (pp. 27-29, 39-49, 96, 123), and have endeavoured to show that the traces of exogamy are still found in Samoa; that the process of the change from uterine to agnatic descent can be traced; and that this change was made by a natural process of development in the changed conditions of life consequent upon the expulsion or emigration of the present Polynesian peoples.

An interesting account of the persistence of exogamy amongst an isolated race long after the parent stock had advanced to endogamy and agnatic descent will be found in the preceding chapter, under the heading "Exogamy at Lua Niua."

The Melanesians had no hereditary chiefs, and no form of settled government, whilst the Samoans and other Polynesian races had both. This was due to the different conditions under which the people lived.

The facts that the Melanesian peoples were divided into two or more exogamous classes, that the mother was always of the opposite class to the husband, and that the children were members of the mother's class precluded anything like hereditary chieftainship even in limited areas. At the same time it must not be thought that all men were equal. In some places men like Gorai in the Shortlands group, Ingava in Ruviana, Mule in Treasury Island, Taki at Wango, all in the Solomons group, and Topulu in Duke of York Island undoubtedly exercised influence outside their own respective districts, but this was due to the operation of the law of natural selection. They had more influence because they were stronger; were more powerful sorcerers; had more money; had the right to teach and to receive more royalties from dances than other people did, and in every way had proved themselves to be better or, at all events, more cunning men than any of their competitors. The late chief Enamakala of Kiriwina, S.E. New Guinea, was more like a great Polynesian chief than any one I have known in Melanesia (Fiji excluded). No one dared to walk upright in the village when he was present, but all had to crouch down or crawl, and no cries or noise were permitted in his hearing. Some powers, though not in every sense hereditary, might, however, be transmitted, especially when the brother of a deceased chief and therefore of the same class succeeded. In such a case if his natural gifts were also great he would have much of his deceased brother's prestige and retain much of his power. If the deceased chief had no surviving brothers the son generally succeeded, but this was not because he was the son of his father; he would only take his father's place if he obtained possession of his money, and had in some way acquired his influence. There was, however, no right of succession, as the head of any of the respective families in the district, if he had acquired more influence or was the reputed possessor of more powers of magic than any of his fellows, might become a ruling chief, and the only real powers which any of the chiefs exercised over the people were those of fear and self-interest.

A ruling chief was always supposed to exercise priestly functions, that is, he professed to be in constant communication with the *tebarans* (spirits), and through their influence he was enabled to bring rain or sunshine, fair winds or foul ones, sickness or health, success or disaster in war, and generally to procure any blessing or curse for which the applicant was willing to pay a sufficient price. If his spells did not produce the desired effect he always had a plausible explanation ready, which was generally accepted as a sufficient excuse. I think much of the success which these men undoubtedly had was due to their keen observations of natural phenomena, and to the effects of fear upon the people.

With regard to government in New Britain there were no regular councils for the regulation of tribal affairs, unless the meetings of the secret societies can be so designated. There were no hereditary titles in New Britain such as are common in Polynesian groups.

In Samoa a marked change and advance in culture is distinctly evident, and it is advisable, I think, to describe the position of the chiefs and the system of government somewhat more fully than I have previously done, not only to show the great difference which exists, but also because the facts adduced may be of value in determining the original habitat of the people. The Samoans have always had, so far as their history and traditions are available, one dialect prevailing over the whole of the group; powerful chiefs with agnatic descent and hereditary succession, though not invariably from father to son; distinct classes of people living in village communities; a system of local government, and a profession, at all events, of allegiance to some central power. These show, I think, the influence and effects of intercourse with other peoples before they left their ancestral home, and also that a considerable period must have elapsed since that event took place. The old families of Tonga, Hawaii, New Zealand, Samoa, and other Polynesian groups were very proud indeed of their descent, and preserved their genealogies as carefully as do any of the oldest families in Europe. They had many feudal rights and privileges which were as well known and acknowledged as are those of any lord of the manor in England to-day. They had an undoubted right to, and an absolute power of disposal over large tracts of family lands, whilst they had also a vaguely defined *mana*—power, interest, or right over common lands and also, in some instances, over lands in the possession of other families. This shows that there was a great difference between the position of a Melanesian chief and that of a chief in Polynesia, but in both cases the brother generally succeeded to the position of chief if he desired to do so; and this, I think, is collateral evidence that the Samoans were at one time an exogamous people. In both cases, also, the power of the chiefs was associated with the belief that they had some magical or supernatural power which they could exercise, to enforce their decisions through the *tabu* or in some other way.

In Samoa, and I think in many other places in Eastern Polynesia, the following meetings were held. First, meetings of the separate villages, at which all purely local interests which did not affect the policy or the political relations of the principal or ruling town of the district were considered and dealt with by the local chief or chiefs, *tulafales* (orators), and heads of families. Secondly, meetings of the chiefs and representatives of the different villages at the principal town of the district with which they were immediately connected, at which all matters affecting the local interests of that portion of the district were dealt with, as well as any matters which affected the political relations of the town and its dependencies to the rest of the district with which it was connected. Thirdly, meetings at the ruling town of the district, at which chiefs, *tulafales*, and heads of families from all the towns which composed the large district decided upon all matters which affected the district as a whole, and especially upon any matter affecting the political relations which existed between them and other districts. Fourthly, meetings of chiefs, *tulafales*, and representatives from the several districts gathered together on some great emergency to discuss any matters affecting their own national interests or their relations with any foreign power. It is very easy to see that from a people living under these conditions it was possible to obtain an expression of opinion upon any proposition which might be submitted to them, whilst it is equally clear that the combined action of the whole group in favour of or against any matter affecting their national interests was also, at all events, possible to the chiefs and rulers of Eastern Polynesian groups. The lowest class in Samoa was called *tangata nuu.* These were not necessarily an inferior, much less a servile class, but were the ordinary members of the respective families, having an acknowledged head as their representative. Very few indeed, however, of this class were ineligible for the position of head of the family if a vacancy occurred, and they were selected for the position. Their principal employments were in cultivating the soil, fishing, cooking, and taking part in times of war. Some of them occupied important positions as attendants to the chiefs of their respective families. The next in rank were the *faleupolu*, which included the heads of families and those holding an acknowledged position in the different branches of their families. They also often took part in the discussions in public assemblies, and their opinion was very generally accepted. The *tulafales*, who were nominally the next in position and influence, were a very powerful and influential class; in fact, the real control of the district was often exercised by them. He would be a very bold chief who dared to act in direct opposition to the advice of the *tulafales* of his town or district. The chief rarely spoke when expressing the wishes or decisions of the people, as it was considered more dignified on his part to remain comparatively silent, and it was also considered to be the privilege of the *tulafale* to express in public the decisions which had been arrived at. The *tulafales* also claimed the power, and on many occasions exercised it, to depose or banish a chief who had become obnoxious to them. In ordinary cases they were the special advisers of the chiefs, but they also exercised a real authority quite independent of the will of the chief himself. Their office was hereditary, the next oldest brother generally taking the name and position when a vacancy occurred. They practically made laws, levied fines, and ruled the village. At Lufilufi, the principal town of Atua, the *tulafales* were always addressed by the term *susunga*, which is one of the highest terms applied to chiefs. They also had the absolute disposal of the *ao* belonging to their respective districts, and were able to confer it by simply visiting the chief whom they had selected, standing in front of him and calling him by the title which was thus conferred upon him. On the death of any chief holding one of these titles it reverted to the district which had conferred it. The *tulafales* also were large landowners, and in most districts they occupied a position very little inferior to that of the chiefs, and in some instances exercised a greater influence and power. The chiefs also were of different ranks, some only having power or rank in their own village. Others were of higher rank, and represented large and powerful families. Then there were others who occupied a still higher position as having received an *ao* or title from some important town or district. The petty chiefs had little or no influence outside their own family and immediate connections, but they were not more accountable to the high chief than other persons were. They were chosen by their respective families, the oldest brother as usual being generally chosen. Quarrels often arose in villages and districts among the petty chiefs, but they had not sufficient influence to create anything like a war, and in fact their influence, even over their own family, was in many cases very limited. The chiefs of highest rank were also divided into classes, *tama o le malo* and *alii paia*, or sacred chiefs. Each of these divisions had a number of *uso alii*, consisting of brother chiefs who were his immediate connections, and who counselled and controlled him generally on any important matter. An account of the customs connected with the conferring of the title of *alii paia* will be found on pp. 283-285.

Another point of difference is that the communal system prevails in a very marked degree in Samoa, whilst in New Britain it is almost entirely absent. This may be partly accounted for by the decay of exogamy and the consequent growth of family relationships and interests, but the facts remain. A Samoan gives, a New Britain native sells or lends at interest. A Samoan could not refuse to give anything which any member of his family asked for, but a New Britain native would do that without any compunction or blame from others. There were no markets in Samoa, but every district in New Britain had one. There was no money or any recognised standard of value in Samoa like the *diwara* or *tambu* in New Britain, for the fine mats, or other property given at marriage or funeral feasts, had no fixed negotiable value.

"No pottery or any bows and arrows in Polynesia." One of the principal arguments used by those who believe that the Melanesian and Polynesian races are separate and distinct races is that the Polynesians have no pottery, and that it is unreasonable to suppose that they could have ever known such a useful art and afterwards lose it altogether. One distinguished writer[1] says: "The absence of pottery and the bow from Polynesia makes it quite certain that the Melanesian and Polynesian substratum of population commonly assumed in that region is a fiction"; and he then states, in capital letters, that "from no Pacific region could a potteryless people have come since Palæolithic times." The proofs given for these statements are that "all round the Pacific, on both the Asiatic and the American coast, pottery has been made from time immemorial; and so it is in all the island world from the Malay Peninsula, south-east, to the New Hebrides and Fiji. The Australians have not got the art; but Melanesia and Papuasia have it, except for one or two Polynesian colonies." This statement is, in my opinion, not justified by the actual facts. It is quite true that pottery is not made by the Polynesians, but it is equally true that it is not made by large numbers of Melanesians, and that so far from all the latter people having the art, a very large number are absolutely ignorant of it. I lived for some years amongst a pure Melanesian race in New Britain, Duke of York group, and New Ireland, and can testify that the people amongst whom we lived did not possess either cooking or drinking vessels of pottery, nor have any such vessels been seen or heard of by any of the missionaries or traders whom I have known in those places. Boiling was always done by hot stones, and by them alone. Any one can find a purely Melanesian people in New Ireland who are absolutely without pottery, and in a day's sail may find amongst the Western Solomons in Bougainville Straits and the Shortlands a people who make and use the pottery in which they cook their food. Then, on continuing his voyage a little farther to the Eastern Solomons and the Banks group, he would find, so Dr. Codrington says, that pottery is unknown in these islands. All that we can assert with confidence is that pottery is not made in Polynesia, and that in Melanesia some peoples make and use it, whilst amongst others it is absolutely unknown. In the large islands, as New Guinea, the manufacture of pottery is confined to certain districts, and this is also the case in many of the smaller islands. If, then, the first Polynesian emigrants sailed from an island or district where pottery was not made, it is easy to account for the fact that their descendants know nothing of the art; or even if they had left a land where pottery was manufactured, it is not at all likely that they were accompanied by women who alone were able to manufacture it.

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[1] Prof. J. Macmillan Brown, *Maori and Polynesian*, p. 246.

The same misconception prevails as to the use of the bow and arrow. Many writers appear to believe that all Melanesians use these weapons in warfare, and that the bow is not known in Polynesia. The facts again are that many Melanesian peoples, perhaps a majority, do not use the bow at all in fighting. It is never so used in the New Britain group, and even in the Solomons it is only in Bouka, Bougainville, and Bougainville Straits, in the western portion, that it is extensively used. The people in the eastern portion of the group rarely use it. Then even in Polynesia there are records which show that it was formerly used there in warfare. Mariner mentions the use of the weapon in Tonga,[1] and was himself wounded by an arrow. The Tongans had also a word to designate an arrow used in warfare, and another one for that used in sport. The use of the bow and arrow for sport is universal in all the island groups.

The other main points of difference are: that secret societies are common in Melanesia, but are not known in Polynesia. The fact, however, of the existence of the Areoi society in the Society Islands and other groups shows, I think, that the Polynesians had some such societies in former times; there was no seclusion of young females on or near puberty in Polynesia, though distinctive signs were used to show that a girl was not married. Polynesians, as a rule, did not perforate the nose or the lobes of the ears; they do not chew the areca nut, because it does not grow in their islands, but drink *kava*; neither wives nor slaves were sacrificed at the burial of a chief, and the aged were not buried alive as in some parts of Melanesia.

These are some of the principal differences which exist. Whether they are of sufficient importance to prevent us from assuming the identity of origin of the oceanic peoples my readers will each determine for himself. The plan I have adopted in this work has necessarily involved some repetition when considering cognate subjects, but this I have avoided as much as possible. My object has been simply to give some facts which may be useful in the consideration of the history of the peoples amongst whom I have lived; and though I am fully conscious that there is much yet to be said which would require far more space than is available in this work, I am thankful that I have been able to put on record some facts concerning the life-histories of peoples whose primitive habits are now being so rapidly affected and changed by intercourse with Europeans, which may be of some service to those who are interested in the study of these oceanic races.

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[1] Mariner's *Tonga*, pp. 217, 218.

APPENDIX

The Rev. J. T. Field of Tubetube (Slade Island), South-Eastern New Guinea, gave me a very interesting account of burial customs on that island, from which I take the following extracts as being typical of the customs of the natives in the Louisiade group :—

When Leuwata, the chief, became ill, and it was evident to his people that his sickness was likely to be unto death, all his relations and followers with their friends gathered together nightly in order to carry out their time-honoured custom for the sick, called *Siistara.* This is a gathering of the people for the purpose of offering petitions to and endeavouring to propitiate the evil spirits by incantation. In it both men and women join, and it is carried on all through the night, the company dispersing at daylight. During the whole of the night the following prayers were wailed forth or chanted by the watchers as they were seated in a circle around the sick man, who was lying down on native mats placed on the ground close to the fire :—

O Karauwe. Tamamai.	O evil ones. Our Father.
Tabu wa ka-kana.	Do not you be consuming.
Wa gabaien. Base.	(This desire) throw away. Stop.
I miamia ;	Let him remain here ;
I namanamana.	Let him be well.

Kai to baga-baga,	We are not true men and women,
Negeri ka ka-kana ;	We are not consuming (him) ;
Koamia dunau wa kana,	Your sisters consume (him),
Kwa walo i namanamana.	You say let him be well.

On this occasion the evil spirits, to whom is attributed all sickness, did not heed the requests of the people, though many nights were spent in the vain effort to propitiate them. . . . Leuwata died in the morning, and in accordance with the custom here, his body was prepared for the night of mourning, equivalent to a wake, which is always held at Tubetube, and the body buried at sunrise the next morning.

This custom of mourning, or wailing, for the dead is called *Si-wui*, and in it all the relations and friends are expected to join, especially the women, who take the leading part in the wailing.

The preparation of the body is an important one, proportionate to the rank of the dead. In Leuwata's case, he being a chief, his body was dressed in accordance with his position. A valuable belt encircled his waist. This is made of a finely plaited string made from the fibre of a native creeper, and is about a quarter of an inch in width by about an eighth of an inch in thickness, black in colour, and many yards in length; it is wrapped round and round the body until it is three or four inches in width over the upper part of the hips, and is then securely fastened. On the string are numbers of the small red discs of the material out of which the natives make their most valued article, these discs being placed close together and completely covering the string. Pendent from the lowest wrap or fold of the band are several strings of the red discs, each about four inches in length. This belt keeps in position and supports the man's dress (*sivi*), made of the long leaves of the pandanus tree sewn together. On his arms were a pair of massive armlets with strings of the valued *bagi* pendent from them. Through the septum of the nose was a finely worked nose ornament, fully nine inches long. Around the neck, and hanging in folds over his chest, was a splendid *bagi*. This is the article which has the highest value in the native currency and is not to be purchased with English goods, except under exceptional circumstances. His body was anointed with cocoa-nut oil, his hair neatly combed and frizzed, and his face decorated with wonderful designs in lines and curves by means of a pigment resembling black paint. The body was placed in a sitting posture in the house, being supported in this position by some rough planks of wood. Suspended from the roof and timbers overhead were the valuables which belonged to the deceased chief, consisting of much wealth in native currency, and on the dead body, or in conspicuous positions, were the gifts brought by his relatives and friends, consisting of native money, ornaments, and articles of English trade goods, tobacco, beads, print, etc. The giving of the present is called *ianasa*, the decorating, etc. is called *loaloa*. These presents afterwards become the property of the deceased person's mother, uncle on the mother's side, and the grandparents, no others being allowed to touch them, as they are sacred or tabooed to all but those relatives mentioned, and are at their disposal alone after the body is buried. A large heap of yams, uncooked, was placed at the feet of the dead man, and a lime-pot or calabash and lime-stick with betel-nuts, etc. at his side. The custom of wailing for the dead is called *Si-wui*, and the chanting which accompanies it has a weird sound in the otherwise still night air. All the mourners address the deceased by the title of the relationship which he had borne to them, and cries of *Wainegu*, *Wainegu* (My husband, my husband), *Tamagu* (My father), *Dugu* (My brother) (from the sister), *Kaukava* (My brother) (from the brother), *Agubara* (My uncle), *Tubugu* (My grandfather), mingled together with the following chant:—

Wainegu. Wainegu. hu boita.	My husband. My husband. You are dead.
Negeri hu lau-co-ima.	You will not come back to me again.
Kategu-kamkamna lalakena.	My heart is very sad.

The last line literally translated would be, "My liver is in great pain." The natives here do not use the word for the mind or for the heart to express pity, or compassion, or sorrow, but a combination of two words, *kate* (the liver) and *kamkamna* (pain); whilst rejoicing, happiness, etc. are always referred to the mind.

Another chant is that of the natives who looked upon the deceased as their father, though not naturally related to him:—

Tamagu. Tamagu.	My father. My father.
Kaukavau tamariau.	My brothers have their fathers.
Iau negeri tamagu.	My father have I not.

The mourning or wailing was carried on without intermission until the body was buried, and at intervals for days afterwards it would commence again as friends and relatives from other places arrived, and in this way expressed their condolence with the widow. At daylight the grave was prepared: this is always done by men who are related to, or belong to the same village as, the deceased. The grave was lined with plaited cocoa-nut leaves, and on the bottom one of the native sleeping mats made of the long padanus leaves sewn together was placed. All the presents and ornaments were now removed, and the body was carried to its last resting-place, in which without any ceremony it was fixed in a sitting posture, with the legs close together, straight in front of and at right angles to the body, the palms of the hands being placed together and resting on the thighs.

Over the head one of the native cooking-pots was fixed by means of pieces of wood stuck into the sides of the grave. The hole was then covered over with rough slabs of wood, plaited cocoa-nut-palm leaves put on the top of these, and the earth heaped up over all. No earth was put in with or upon the body. A small roughly-built house was erected over the grave, the sides and ends being made of rough slabs of wood and the roof of plaited cocoa-nut-palm leaves. The chief object of this house is to protect the grave from pigs and dogs, and also to prevent the rain from washing away the earth which covers it. The grave-diggers are paid by the mother or the uncle of the deceased from the *ianasa* or presents brought by the friends, and with which the body was decorated during the night of mourning. In addition to this there is a special feast prepared for them, a dog is always killed, pork, yams, and other food are provided specially for them, and this food is tabooed to any others than the men who have worked at the preparation of the grave.

Proceeding with the subject, the next thing is what the natives call *I-masiguli*, the rising of the spirit from the grave preparatory to taking its long journey to the spirit-land. At sunset of the day on which the body of Leuwata was buried a good-sized fire was kindled close to the grave. In the making of this the taboo enters again, as it does into so many of the customs of this people. It is *silam* (taboo) or sacred to any but those who have performed the offices or services in connection with the burial, to touch this fire or the wood of which it is made. Over the fire a roof was fixed, made of plaited cocoa-nut-palm leaves, to protect it from the rain, a necessary precaution, as the fire had to be kept burning night and day until the feast of the dead was held. One of the grave-diggers constantly attended to it, replenishing the wood as it burned away. The reason for having the fire is that the spirit may be able to get warm when it rises from the grave. The natives regard the spirit as being very cold, even as the body is when the life has departed from it, and without this external warmth provided by the fire it would be unable to undertake the journey to its final home. The feast for the dead is celebrated when the flesh has decayed, and in some places the skull is taken from the grave, washed and placed in the house, being buried again when the feast is over. At Tubetube this custom of taking the skull from the grave is not regularly followed, in some instances it is, but the feast is always held, and on the night of the day on which the feast takes place, the fire, which has been in some cases kept burning for over a month, is allowed to burn out, as the spirit, being now safe and happy in the spirit-land, has no further need of it. It is a long journey under the sea to the "happy hunting-grounds" of this people, but the course is clearly defined and known to them. The first stage on the journey is to an island close to Tubetube called Ulaulalea. On this island close to the sea there is a large stone, and under the stone a cave, leading to a passage under the sea. The spirit, when starting on its journey, proceeds first to this stone, and enters the cave, going down and down until it reaches a path leading in the direction of Dekatuwe, an island lying at the north-east of Tubetube. Thence the path passes in a westerly direction under the island of Tonole, thence south-west to another island, Kawana, then on again, always under the sea, to a point on the south of the island of Normanby, called Maku maku, thence to Lebudoa, another point on the western side of Normanby. Here the spirit emerges from the passage, and looking across the sea in the direction of Tubetube, before mounting the high hill on the way to Bwebweso, the spirit-land, takes a final farewell of relations and native land :—

Wainegu. Natugu. Sinagu.	My wife. My child. My mother.
Iagu ianua. I——O kaione.	My home. E——O farewell.
Kategu-kamkamna, kaione.	My heart is sad, farewell.

Upon arrival at Bwebweso, with one exception, all his relations who have preceded him are averse to his appearance there, and demand a reason for his coming. "*Tauwai kaiwena hoa lobi-mai ?*" ("For what reason have you come to us ?")

To which there seems to be the regular answer given: "*Nuanuagu ia mia mia. Karrauive si kani iau. Ia kasiebwa lalakena ia boita. Ia lo-loama Bwebweso.*" ("It was my desire to stay there. The evil spirits consumed me. I was very sick, I died. I have come to Bwebweso.") He is now taken by his cousin, if one has preceded him, and cared for by him until after some time has elapsed, when he is received as one of the company of spirits who dwell at Bwebweso, and is then admitted into the enjoyment of all the privileges of that happy land. If he is not fortunate enough to have been preceded by a cousin, he has to pass his probationary period by himself. In the case of infants who die shortly after being born, or of very young children, the mother's sister, or one of the female relatives who have reached the spirit-land, returns in spirit and conveys the spirit of the child to Bwebweso, where it is cared for by her.

In this spirit-land eternal youth prevails, there are no old men nor old women, but all are in the full vigour of the prime of life, or are attaining thereto, and having reached that stage never grow older. Old men and old women, who die as such on Tubetube, renew their youth in this happy place, where there are no more sickness, no evil spirits, and no death. Marriage, and giving in marriage, continue; if a man dies, his widow, though she may have married again, is at her death re-united to her first husband in the spirit-land, and the second husband when he arrives has to take one of the women already there who may be without a mate, unless he marries again before his death, in which case he would have to wait until his wife joins him. Children are born, and on arriving at maturity do not grow older. Houses are built, canoes are made but they are never launched, and gardens are planted and yield abundantly. The spirits of their animals, dogs, pigs, etc., which have died on Tubetube, precede and follow them to the spirit-land. Fighting and stealing are unknown, and all are united in a common brotherhood.

There are degrees of future punishment, though the standard of right and wrong is somewhat obscure. The spirits in the spirit-land are the judges as to who is to be admitted into the inner circle. Those who succeed in passing their examination or come up to the standard of good conduct necessary to qualify for admission are received. Those who just fall short of it are condemned to an outer circle on the confines of the inner one; here they are permitted to see the happy state of the fortunate ones without actually entering into or being partakers of the same,—a kind of negative punishment, but eternal nevertheless; whereas the punishment of the very bad people is of a positive character. Not only are these debarred from entering the "happy hunting-grounds" or inner circle; but they are "doomed for a certain term to walk the night," and the day too, for they have no rest, no sleep, but are condemned to be constantly "going to and fro in the earth, and . . . walking up and down in it." Their pain is intense, and there is no end to their suffering.

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